THE RUINS OF PALMYRA, OTHERWISE TEDMOR, IN THE DESART.

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TO THE

READER.

AS the principal merit of works of this kind is truth, it may not be amiſs to prefix to this, ſuch an account of the manner in which it was undertaken, and executed, as will give the publick an opportunity of judging what credit it deſerves.

Two gentlemen, whoſe curioſity had carried them more than once to the continent, particularly to Italy, thought, that a voyage, properly conducted, to the moſt remarkable places of antiquity, on the coaſt of the Mediteranean, might produce amuſement and improvement to themſelves, as well as ſome advantage to the publick.

As I had already ſeen moſt of the places they intended to viſit, they did me the honour of communicating to me their thoughts upon that head, and I with great pleaſure accepted their kind invitation to be of ſo agreeable a party.

The knowledge I had of thoſe gentlemen, in different tours through France and Italy, promiſed all the ſucceſs we could wiſh from ſuch a voyage; their ſtrict friendſhip for one another, their love of antiquities, and the fine arts, and their being well accuſtomed for ſeveral years to travelling, were circumſtances very requiſite to our ſcheme, but rarely to be met with in two perſons, who with taſte and leiſure for ſuch enquiries, are equal both to the expence and fatigue of them.

It was agreed, that a fourth perſon in Italy, whoſe abilities, as an architect and draftſman we were acquainted with, would be abſolutely neceſſary. We accordingly wrote to him, and fixed him for the voyage. The drawings he made, have convinced all thoſe who have ſeen them, that we could not have employed any body more fit for our purpoſe.

Rome was appointed for our place of rendezvous, where having paſſed the winter together, we were to proceed to Naples, and there to embark in the ſpring on board a ſhip hired for us in London, and fitted out with every thing we could think might be uſeful. All this we performed without deviating from our original plan, except in a few particulars, where accidents it was impoſſible to foreſee, made ſome alterations neceſſary.

We paſſed the winter together at Rome, and employed moſt of that time in refreſhing our memories with regard to the antient hiſtory and geography of the countries we propoſed to ſee.

We met our ſhip at Naples in the ſpring. She brought from London a library, conſiſting chiefly of all the Greek hiſtorians and poets, ſome books of antiquities, and the beſt voyage writers, what mathematical inſtruments

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we thought neceſſary, and ſuch things as might be proper preſents for the Turkiſh Grandees, or others, to whom, in the courſe of our voyage, we ſhould be obliged to addreſs our ſelves.

We viſited moſt of the iſlands of the Archipelago, part of Greece in Europe; the Aſiatick and European coaſts of the Helleſpont, Propontis and Boſphorus, as far as the Black-ſea, moſt of the inland parts of Aſia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Paleſtine and Egypt.

The various countries we went through, furniſh, no doubt, much entertainment of different ſorts. But however we might each of us have ſome favourite curioſity to indulge, what engaged our greateſt attention was rather their antient than preſent ſtate.

It is impoſſible to conſider with indifference thoſe countries which gave birth to letters and arts, where ſoldiers, orators, philoſophers, poets and artiſts have ſhewn the boldeſt and happieſt flights of genius, and done the greateſt honour to human nature.

Circumſtances of climate and ſituation, otherwiſe trivial, become intereſting from that connection with great men, and great actions, which hiſtory and poetry have given them: The life of Miltiades or Leonidas could never be read with ſo much pleaſure, as on the plains of Marathon or at the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; the Iliad has new beauties on the banks of the Scamander, and the Odyſſe is moſt pleaſing in the countries where Ulyſſes travelled and Homer ſung.

The particular pleaſure, it is true, which an imagination warmed upon the ſpot receives from thoſe ſcenes of heroick actions, the traveller only can feel, nor is it to be communicated by deſcription. But claſſical ground not only makes us always reliſh the poet, or hiſtorian more, but ſometimes helps us to underſtand them better. Where we thought the preſent face of the country was the beſt comment on an antient author, we made our draftſman take a view, or make a plan of it. This ſort of entertainment we extended to poetical geography, and ſpent a fortnight, with great pleaſure, in making a map of the Scamandrian plain, with Homer in our hands.

Inſcriptions we copied as they fell in our way, and carried off the marbles whenever it was poſſible; for the avarice or ſuperſtition of the inhabitants made that task difficult and ſometimes impracticable.

The only opportunity we had of procuring any manuſcripts, was among the Maronite churches of Syria; and though thoſe we met with in Greek were very little intereſting, either as to their ſubject or language, yet it did not diſcourage us from purchaſing ſeveral in Syriac and Arabick, in the ſame places, as we choſe rather to bring home a great many bad things, than run the risk of leaving any thing curious in languages we did not underſtand.

Architecture took up our chief attention; and in this enquiry our expectations were more fully ſatisfied. All lovers of that art muſt be ſenſible that the meaſures of the antient buildings of Rome, by Monſieur Deſgodetz, have been of the greateſt uſe: We imagined that by attempting to follow the ſame method in thoſe countries where architecture had its origin, or at leaſt arrived at the higheſt degree of perfection it has ever attained, we might do ſervice.

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It was chiefly with this view, that we viſited moſt of the places in Aſia Minor, where we could expect any remains of buildings of a good age; we ſeldom had reaſon to regret the trouble we were at in this purſuit, particularly in Lydia, Ionia and Caria. Few ruins were ſo compleatly ſuch, as not to preſerve very valuable fragments, eſpecially as we had provided our ſelves with tools for digging, and ſometimes employed the peaſants in that way, for ſeveral days, to good purpoſe.

The examples of the three Greek orders in architecture, which we met with, might furniſh a tolerable hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of that art, at leaſt the changes it underwent, from the time of Pericles [a] to that of Diocleſian. We thought it would be proper to give Palmyra firſt, as that part about which the curioſity of the publick ſeems moſt preſſing; the ſucceſs which this work meets, will determine the fate of the reſt.

Such was our ſcheme, and ſuch the manner in which we carried it into practice, in ſpight of ſome diſcouraging difficulties, inſeparable from an undertaking of this kind; and though, at our ſetting out, we knowingly engaged with great fatigue, expence and danger, yet, upon the whole, it would have anſwered our expectations, as to pleaſure, as well as profit, had not our happineſs been interrupted by the moſt affecting misfortune which could poſſibly have happened to our little ſociety; when I ſay, this was the death of Mr. BOUVERIE, all thoſe who had the pleaſure of knowing that gentleman, muſt pity our ſituation at that time.

Beſides thoſe virtues, the loſs of which we regret in common with all his friends, he had qualities particularly well adapted to the part he bore in this voyage; the great objects of his private entertainment was almoſt every thing which comes within the circle of Virtù, in which, he had acquired ſuch knowledge, by ſeveral journies to Rome, that his opinion in thoſe matters had authority among the connoiſſeurs of that country; and indeed his collection of drawings, medals, intaglio's and cameo's, (which would have grown very conſiderable had he lived) are proofs of the correctneſs of his taſte.

How much the loſs of ſuch a perſon muſt have broke in upon the ſpirit of our party, may eaſily be ſuppoſed. Had he lived to have ſeen Palmyra we ſhould, no doubt, have leſs occaſion to beg indulgence for ſuch inaccuracies as may be found in the following work.

An accident ſo highly diſtreſſing would have entirely diſconcerted us, had it not been for the uncommon activity and reſolution of our ſurviving friend; and, indeed, if any thing could make us forget that Mr. BOUVERIE was dead, it was that Mr. DAWKINS was living.

If the following ſpecimen of our joint labours ſhould in any degree ſatisfy publick curioſity, and reſcue from oblivion the magnificence of Palmyra, it is

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[a] I mean with the addition of the antient buildings of the Attica, which make no part of our collection, for the following reaſon. When we arrived at Athens, we found Mr. STEWART and Mr. REVET, two Engliſh painters, ſucceſsfully employed in taking meaſures of all the architecture there, and making drawings of all the bas reliefs, with a view to publiſh them, according to a ſcheme they had communicated to us at Rome. We were much pleaſed to find that ſome of the moſt beautiful works of the antients were to be preſerved by perſons ſo much more equal to the taſk; and therefore did no more at Athens than ſatisfy our own curioſity, leaving it to Mr. STEWART and Mr. REVET to ſatisfy that of the publick. We hope they may meet with that encouragement which ſo uſeful a work deſerves.

owing entirely to this gentleman, who was ſo indefatigable in his attention to ſee every thing done accurately, that there is ſcarce a meaſure in this work which he did not take himſelf.

At the ſame time that, by this declaration, I diſclaim any ſhare of merit which the publick, uninformed of the truth, might have given me, I cannot help in return indulging my vanity with a circumſtance, which I am ſure does me honour, viz. that my being the publiſher of theſe ſheets is owing to Mr. DAWKINS his friendſhip for me, who while he highly enjoys the pleaſure of contributing to the advancement of arts in this manner, declines the profitswhich may ariſe from this publication.

If I venture to mention this ſingle inſtance of my friend's regard for me, I ſhall compound with him for that liberty, by ſuppreſſing others without number: To join Mr. DAWKINS' name with mine (where I muſt ſtill continue to be the only gainer) is, I fear, little leſs than impertinent, but it is the impertinence of gratitude, which, like love, is never more aukward in it's declarations than when it is moſt ſincere and in earneſt.

ROBERT WOOD.

THE

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

ANTIENT STATE

OF

PALMYRA.

OUR account of Palmyra is confined merely to that ſtate of decay in which we found thoſe ruins in the year 1751. It is not probable that the reader's curioſity ſhould ſtop here: The preſent remains of that city are certainly too intereſting to admit of our indifference about what it has been; *when and by whom it was built*; *the ſingularity of its ſituation (ſeparated from the reſt of mankind by an uninhabitable deſart,) and the ſource of riches neceſſary to the ſupport of ſuch magnificence*, are ſubjects which very naturally engage our attention. The following Enquiry is an attempt, in ſome meaſure, to ſatisfy that curioſity.

It ſeems very remarkable, that Balbeck and Palmyra, perhaps the two moſt ſurpriſing remains of antient magnificence which are now left, ſhould be ſo much neglected in hiſtory, that, except what we can learn from the inſcriptions, all our information about them, would ſcarce amount to more than probable conjecture.

Does not even this ſilence of hiſtory, carry with it inſtruction, and teach us how much we are in the dark with regard to ſome periods of antiquity?

It is the natural and common fate of cities to have their memory longer preſerved than their ruins. Troy, Babylon and Memphis are now known only from books, while there is not a ſtone left to mark their ſituation. But here we have two inſtances of conſiderable towns out-living any account of them. Our curioſity about theſe places is rather raiſed by what we ſee than what we read, and Balbeck and Palmyra are in a great meaſure left to tell their own ſtory.

Shall we attribute this to the loſs of books, or conclude that the Antients did not think thoſe buildings ſo much worth notice as we do? If we can ſuppoſe the latter, it ſeems to juſtify our admiration of their works. Their ſilence about Balbeck, gives authority to what they ſay of Babylon, and the works of Palmyra ſcarce mentioned, become vouchers for thoſe ſo much celebrated of Greece and Egypt.

Any authorities I can collect from the Antients, immediately relating to Palmyra, might be thrown into a very ſmall compaſs; but as perſons of more leiſure may, if they think it worth while, enlarge and correct theſe hints, I ſhall not only produce ſuch materials as I have met with, but alſo give the hiſtorical order in which I ſearched for them, by taking a ſhort view of the moſt remarkable revolutions of Syria, from the earlieſt account of this place, which may at leaſt be of ſome uſe towards a more diligent and accurate enquiry.

To what information hiſtory affords I ſhall add what may be gathered from the taſte of the Architecture, and from the inſcriptions.

Fabulous Hiſtory.

THE Arabick tranſlator of Chronicles [a] makes Palmyra older than Solomon; John of Antioch ſurnamed Malala [b] ſays, that he built it on the ſpot where David ſlew Goliah, in memory of that action; and Abul Farai [c] mentions in what year, with other particularities.

But theſe and other accounts of the early ſtate of Palmyra, which might be collected from the Arabian hiſtorians, bear ſuch evident marks of fable and wild conjecture, that we ſhall paſs them over, and come to the earlieſt hiſtorical authority which deſerves to be quoted as ſuch.

Solomon built Palmyra.

That Solomon built Tedmor in the wilderneſs we are told in the Old teſtament;[d] and that this was the ſame city which the Greeks and Romans called afterwards Palmyra, tho' the Syrians retained the firſt name, we learn from Joſephus. [e] We may add the authority of St. Jerom, who (if the vulgar latin verſion be his) thinks Tedmor and Palmyra are only the Syrian and Greek names of the ſame place.

What ſeems to ſtrengthen this opinion is, that at this preſent time the Arabs of the country call it Tedmor,[f] and we follow their pronunciation as the beſt authority for this way of writing that name.

Ammianus Marcellinus [g] takes notice of the attachment of the natives of Syria to the old names of their cities, which they kept up notwithſtanding the Greek ones given by Seleucus Nicator, when he rebuilt them. And there are now ſeveral inſtances in that country of the old name of a place preſerved by the Arabs, while the Greek one is from long diſuſe forgot and unknown in the country. Thus the Acco [h] of the Old teſtament in the tribe of Aſher, was called by the Greeks Ptolemais, but now by the inhabitants Acca, the original name only altered in one letter; and Haran where Abraham dwelt before he ſet out for the Land of promiſe, was afterwards the Carrhæ of the Romans; but has again recovered its firſt name, Haran.

It ſeems natural for people to have this affection for the names their towns bore during their ſtate of freedom and proſperity; and an unwillingneſs to admit innovations impoſed by conqueſt is obſervable in all countries, but no where more than among the Arabs, who, notwithſtanding the frequent attempts made

[a] 2 Chron. 8. [b] Dynaſtiar. lib. 5.
[c] Verſ. Pococ. [d] 1 Kings, 9. and 2 Chron. 8.
[e] Antiq. Jud. lib. 8. Pere Hardouin's objections to this opinion ſeem chiefly to ariſe from his ignorance of the preſent ſtate of this place.

[f] Of ſeveral antient ways of writing this name the ϑεδμορ of the Alexandrian copy comes neareſt the pronunciation of the preſent Arabs. We take the Greek name Palmyra from the inſcriptions, though Joſephus writes it παλμιρα and Pliny *Palmira*. [g] Lib. 14. [h] Judges i. 31.

upon

upon them, boaſt a longer independence and a purer antiquity than any other nation.

But that theſe ruins which we viſited were the works of Solomon, we only offer as the eſtabliſhed opinion of the preſent inhabitants of Palmyra, who, perfectly ſatisfied of the truth of it, add ſeveral curious anecdotes, and point out his ſeraglio, his harem, the tomb of a favourite concubine, with ſeveral other particulars: "All theſe mighty things, ſay they, [a] Solomon the ſon of "David did by the aſſiſtance of ſpirits." [b]

Whatever buildings then Solomon may have erected here, we ſhall ſuppoſe to have periſhed long ſince, even tho' we had not the authority of John of Antioch to ſupport us, who affirms that Nebuchadnezzar deſtroyed this city before he beſieged Jeruſalem. Nebuchadnezzar deſtroyed it.

Buildings in the taſte of thoſe of Palmyra cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed prior to the time the Greeks got footing in Syria; and therefore it is not ſurprizing that we find nothing of that city in the accounts of the Babylonian and Perſian conqueſts of this country; nor that Xenophon ſhould take no notice of it in his Retreat of the ten-thouſand, tho' he gives a very accurate account of the Deſart, and muſt have left this place not a great way to the right in his march towards Babylon. Is not mentioned in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger.

Nor could one for the ſame reaſon expect more from the accounts of Alexander the great than what uſe he, or his enemies might have made of ſuch a ſituation, when he marched through this Deſart to Thapſacus on the Euphrates, which was the place where he, as well as Darius and Cyrus the Younger, paſſed that River. Or of Alexander the Great.

From the death of Alexander to the reduction of Syria to a Roman province would ſeem a more proper period for enquiring about Palmyra. Seleucus Nicator was a great builder, and tho' the ruins of Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia, at the mouth of the ſame river, are inconſiderable, yet what is left to be ſeen of them, ſhews, the good Greek manner of that happy age of architecture. So convenient a ſituation as that of Palmyra, between theſe two great cities already mentioned and Seleucia on the Tygris, as alſo between the Euphrates and the great trading towns on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, could hardly be over-looked; and indeed as a frontier towards the Parthians, its importance muſt have been great, from the time Arſaces the founder of that empire took Seleucus Callinicus priſoner. Theſe might be good reaſons for ſuppoſing the buildings of Palmyra a work of ſome of the Seleucidæ, had we any hiſtorical authority to ſupport ſuch an opinion; but I cannot find even the name of this city in any part of their hiſtory. Not taken notice of in the reign of Seleucus Nicator who built and repaired ſo many cities in Syria. Its importance as a Frontier muſt have been conſiderable as early as Seleucus Callinicus. Yet it is not mentioned in the hiſtory of the Seleucidæ.

It is true, the Æra of Seleucus was uſed at Palmyra, as we ſhall ſee from the inſcriptions, but all that we can infer from thence, is, that this city ſubmitted to Alexander, and was governed, at leaſt for ſome time by his ſucceſſors; an opinion however, which, were it not otherwiſe probable, could ſcarcely be received meerly upon this evidence; for why might we not ſuppoſe that ſo trading a city, tho' independent of the Seleucidæ, might have introduced the ſame method

[a] Solyman Ebn Doud.

[b] They as firmly believed that we made uſe of the ſame aſſiſtance in ſearching after treaſure. This odd opinion prevails in all countries where there are old ruins, and in Italy is not meerly confined to the common people.

of reckoning their time, which their neighbours ufed, as a matter of convenience?

Not mentioned when Pompey conquered this country.

The Roman hiftory of Syria comes next under confideration. That country was conquered by Pompey, when a tafte for the fine arts had been for fome time introduced at Rome, and had made the fame progrefs which their arms had done in Greece and Afia; and when not only the riches of thefe provinces, but their architecture, painting, and fculpture became objects of enquiry to a Roman governour. One would imagine that Palmyra might have gratified both their curiofity and avarice, and yet we do not meet with any mention of this city in their hiftory, untill Mark Anthony's [a] attempt to plunder it, which they efcaped by removing their moft valuable effects over the Euphrates, and defending the paffage of the river by their archers.

Appears firft in the Roman hiftory in the time of Mark Anthony.

The pretence he made ufe of to give fuch conduct a colour of juftice, was, that they did not obferve a juft neutrality between the Romans and Parthians; but Appian [b] fays his real motive was to enrich his troops with the plunder of the Palmyrenes, who were merchants, and fold the commodities of India and Arabia to the Romans.

When they were a rich free trading people.

We may conclude from hence they were at that time a rich, trading, free people. How long they had been in poffeffion of thefe advantages, we are left to guefs.

It feems probable that their riches, and of courfe their trade, muft have been of fome ftanding; for we fhall find by the infcriptions, that in lefs than forty years after, they were luxurious and expenfive to fuch degree, as muft have required confiderable wealth to fupport.

As to the time when they acquired their freedom, we are likewife left to conjecture.

Doctor Halley [c] is of opinion, that "when the Romans got footing in thefe "parts, and the Parthians feemed to put a ftop to their farther conqueft in the "Eaft, then was the city of Palmyra, by reafon of its fituation, being a frontier "and in the midft of a vaft fandy defart, where armies could not fubfift to reduce "it by force, courted and careffed by the contending princes, and permitted to "continue a free ftate."

But I cannot help thinking there are good reafons for giving their freedom an earlier date. That importance as a frontier, to which the Doctor attributes their liberty, was as confiderable before the Roman conqueft as afterwards: the many wars the Seleucidæ were engaged in, offered feveral good opportunities of withdrawing themfelves from the dominion of thofe princes. Befides, it does not feem probable that Palmyra fhould have fubmitted to the ufurpation of Tigranes, and yet have become free under Pompey, who drove that prince out of the country; and indeed Pompey's beft excufe for not giving up Syria to [d] Antiochus Afiaticus, was, that the Romans could defend it from the infults of its neighbours, which the Syrians themfelves could not.

[a] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 5.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Account of the antient ftate of Palmyra. Philof. Tranfact.
[d] Appian in Syriac.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy gives us the names of ſeveral cities in the Palmyrene, ſome of which are repeated in Peutinger's tables, but, I believe none of them to be met with any where elſe. He alſo mentions a river at Palmyra.

I am not ſo much ſurpriſed to ſee nothing of this city in other antient geographers, as that Strabo, our faithful guide round the Mediterranean, (who of all thoſe writers had moſt judgment, with moſt curioſity) ſhould not even mention its name.

Pliny [a] has very happily collected, in a few lines, the moſt ſtriking circumſtances with regard to this place, except that he takes no notice of the buildings. This ſhort account may be worth comparing with what we ſaw, as the only antient deſcription we have of this city. Pliny's deſcription of Palmyra, the only one we have from the antients.

" Palmyra is remarkable for ſituation, a rich ſoil and pleaſant ſtreams; it is " ſurrounded on all ſides by a vaſt ſandy deſart, which totally ſeparates it from " the reſt of the world, and has preſerved its independence between their two " great empires of Rome and Parthia, whoſe firſt care when at war, is to en- " gage it in their intereſt. It is diſtant from Seleucia ad Tigrim 337 miles, " from the neareſt part of the Miditerranean 203 and from Damaſcus 176."

In its flouriſhing ſtate Palmyra could by no means fall ſhort of this deſcription; its 'ſituation' is fine, under a ridge of hills towards the weſt, and a little above the level of a moſt extenſive plain, which it commands to the eaſt. His account compared with what we ſaw.

Thoſe hills were covered with great numbers of ſepulchral monuments, ſeveral of which remain almoſt entire, and have a very venerable aſpect.

What 'ſoil' remains is extreamly rich, and 'its waters' very limpid, riſing conſtantly, and in greater abundance in ſummer than in winter, from rocks cloſe by the town, at ſuch a height as to be capable of receiving any direction. What Ptolemy calls the river of Palmyra, I ſuppoſe to have been no more than the united ſtreams from thoſe fountains, which ſtill continue to flow with a pretty ſmart current as far as their old channels remain entire. Thoſe were lined with ſtone, to prevent the loſs of water, which for want of the ſame care is now ſoon ſoaked up in the ſand, without producing much verdure; tho' a conſiderable ſpot immediately about the town might certainly with little pains be rendered fertile. The hills, and no doubt a great part of the deſart, were formerly covered with palm-trees, which we have ſeen grow in the drieſt ſandy deſarts. Abulfeda mentions the palm as well as fig-trees of Palmyra, and the merchants who went thither from Aleppo in 1691, take notice of ſeveral, tho' we could find but one left in the country.

The other particulars mentioned by Pliny, " as its ſituation in the midſt of a " vaſt deſart, which totally ſeparates it from the reſt of the world; its indepen- " dence; how neceſſary its friendſhip to the two great contending powers, the " Parthians and Romans," are all circumſtances which ſtrongly characterize Palmyra. 'The diſtance' he gives it from 'Seleucia, Damaſcus and the Mediterranean' are tolerably exact, tho' ſomething too great.

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[a] Palmyra urbs nobilis ſitu, divitiis ſoli atq; aquis amœnis, vaſto undiq; ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exempta a rerum natura; privata ſorte inter duo ſumma imperia Romanorum Parthorumq; & prima in diſcordia ſemper utrinq; cura; abeſt a Seleucia Parthorum quæ vocatur ad Tigrim 337 millibus paſſuum, a proximo vero Syriæ littore 203 millibus & a Damaſco 27 propius. Plin. lib. v. Nat. Hiſt.

Not mentioned in Trajan's progress thro' those Countries. Nor in that of Adrian.

We hear nothing of this city either in Trajan or Adrian's expeditions to the eaſt, tho' they muſt have paſſed either through or near it. Stephanus indeed mentions Palmyra being repaired by Adrian, and called from that Adrianople. It ſeems odd, that we ſhould have no better authority for this, while that emperor has been ſo much complimented for leſs conſiderable works in ſeveral parts of Greece.

Is a Roman colony in the time of Caracalla.

Palmyra is called upon the coins of Caracalla a Roman colony, which we know from Ulpian was Juris Italici.

Aſſiſts Alexander Severus againſt the Parthians.

We find from the inſcriptions, [a] that they joined Alexander Severus in his expedition againſt the Perſians.

Becomes conſpicuous in the reign of Gallienus.

We do not meet with Palmyra again until the reign of Gallienus, when it makes a principal figure in the hiſtory of thoſe times, and in a few years experiences the greateſt viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune.

The facts relating to this ſhort, but intereſting period are imperfectly, and variouſly handed down to us by Zoſimus, Vopiſcus, and Trebellius Pollio. I ſhall attempt to throw into ſome order the ſeparate paſſages in theſe hiſtorians, which ſeem moſt for our preſent purpoſe; and leaving it to others to reconcile their different accounts, ſhall make uſe of the authority which has gained moſt credit.

Odenathus.

THE Roman affairs in the eaſt had been for ſome time in a very deplorable ſituation, when Odenathus, a Palmyrene, but of what family or rank originally in the ſtate, is not agreed, made ſo proper a uſe of this ſituation between the two great rival empires of Rome and Perſia, as to get the ballance of power into his hands.

His politicks.

It appears that he declared in favour of different intereſts, as alterations in the face of affairs made it neceſſary. The alliance which gained him moſt reputation was with Gallienus. His courage, activity, and remarkable patience of fatigue, were the very oppoſite of the ſhameful negligence of that emperor, who ſeemed even pleaſed with the captivity of his father Valerian, priſoner of Sapor king of Perſia, and treated by him with the greateſt indignity.

Virtues.

Routs Sapor.

Odenathus joined the ſhattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, routed Sapor the Perſian king, and advanced as far as Cteſiphon, the capital of his empire, victorious in ſeveral engagements.

Is declared Auguſtus and co-partner of the empire.

He returned from this expedition with great applauſe, and a conſiderable booty, and was for his ſervices declared by Gallienus, Auguſtus and co-partner of the empire, a reward which does him honour with poſterity, not becauſe Gallienus confered it, but that the publick approved [b] of it.

[a] Inſcription the IXth.

[b] Treb. Poll. ſays, Laudatur ſanc ejus optimum factum, nam conſulto Valeriani fratris ſui & Lucilli propinqui, ubi comperit ab Odenato Perſas vaſtatos redactam Niſibin & Carras in poteſtatem Romanam, &c.—Odenatum participato imperio Auguſtum vocavit ejuſque monetam qua Perſas captas traheret, cudi juſſit, quod & ſenatus & urbs & omnis ætas gratanter accepit.

Another

Another conſiderable piece of ſervice done by Odenathus to the Roman emperor, was the defeat of Balliſta, one of the many pretenders to the empire, in thoſe times of confuſion. He was an officer of much experience and great merit, had ſerved under Valerian, and was his particular favourite. The many good qualities rccorded of him in the letters of that emperor ſhew, that he might have been a dangerous enemy, had not Odenathus removed him. Defeats Balliſta.

The [a] laſt publick action of Odenathus, was, his relieving Aſia minor from the Goths, who had over-run ſeveral of its rich provinces, committing great ravages; but retired upon his approach. He is generally ſuppoſed to have been murder'd in purſuing them, by Mæonius his kinſman. Relieves Aſia Minor from the Goths. Is murdered.

Herodes, his ſon by a former wife, whom he had joined with him in the empire, ſuffered the ſame fate; of whom all we know from hiſtory is, that he was delicate and luxurious to a great degree, much indulged by his father, and as much hated by his ſtep-mother Zenobia. With his ſon Herodes.

The ſhort and confuſed accounts we have of Odenathus, rather raiſe than ſatisfy our curioſity, and give great reaſon to regret the loſs of an oration written by Longinus in his praiſe, and mentioned by Libanius [b]. But whatever uncertainty there may be about ſome part of his life, it is agreed by all, that he had many great and good qualities. Pollio ſays, the Roman affairs in the eaſt muſt have been totally ruined, had he not engaged himſelf in their intereſt; and reckons his death an inſtance of the divine vengeance upon that people. His character

Mæonius, the kinſman and murderer of Odenathus, ſurvived but a little while; he was ſaluted emperor, and ſoon after cut off by the ſoldiers. Mæonius ſucceeds him but is ſoon murdered.

Odenathus left behind him his queen Zenobia, and two ſons by her, Herencanius and Timolaus, others add Vaballathus [c], ſuppoſed by ſome rather the ſon of Herodes. Zenobia.

Her extraordinary character and various fortunes ſeem ſo much to deſerve attention, and are with ſo little connection interſperſed in the works of the writers [d] already mentioned, that we ſhall enter a little more particularly into them, than is neceſſary to the principal view of this enquiry.

Zenobia makes her appearance under the imputation of a crime, which were it to be credited, would prepare the reader very unfavourably for the reſt of her character. She is ſaid to have conſented to the murder of her huſband, and ſtep-ſon. All the authority I can find for this heavy accu-

[a] Pollio indeed mentions a peace made between Gallienus and Odenathus about this time, but takes no notice of any preceding rupture. The facts in general for which we are obliged to have recourſe to that hiſtorian, are ſo injudiciouſly choſe, and ſo confuſedly put together, that they look liker the indigeſted hints of a common place book than any thing he intended for the publick.

[b] Epiſt. ccxliii. l. 3. Faber ſays of this oration, Si ita tuliſſet fatum litteratum ut ne illa oratio periſſet, multa hodie de bellis orientalibus quæ Odenathus ſuſtinuit, quæque adeo jejune a minoribus illis Hiſtoriæ auguſtæ ſcriptoribus, prodita fuerunt, teneremus.

[c] If any perſon chuſes to know the reaſon of this difference of opinion about Vabellathus (of whom no ſingle fact is recorded in hiſtory) let them conſult Spaneim, Triſtan, Harduin, Vaillant.

[d] Pollio, Zoſimus and Vopiſcus.

ſation is from Trebellius Pollio, who does not poſitively aſſert it neither, but gives it as a report. To which if we add, that though the ſame author has wrote the life of Odenathus and Zenobia, he takes no notice of this remarkable circumſtance in either, nay even praiſes Zenobia for her clemency[a]; it ſeems at leaſt a compliment we owe her virtues, to believe her innocent.

Her family. [b] All that we know, with any degree of certainty, of Zenobia's family, is, that ſhe boaſted herſelf deſcended from the Ptolemys, and was fond of reckoning Cleopatra among her anceſtors.

Beauty. She was accounted a woman of extraordinary beauty; and the particular deſcription we have of her perſon anſwers that character. 'Her complexion was a 'dark brown; (a neceſſary conſequence of her way of life in that climate) ſhe 'had black ſparkling eyes, of an uncommon fire; her countenance was divinely 'ſprightly, and her perſon graceful and genteel beyond imagination; her teeth 'were white as pearls, and her voice clear and ſtrong.'

Of the maſculine kind. If we add to this her uncommon ſtrength, and conſider her exceſſive military fatigues; for ſhe uſed no carriage, generally rode, and often marched on foot three or four miles with her army: And if we, at the ſame time, ſuppoſe her haranguing her ſoldiers, which ſhe uſed to do in a helmet, and often with her arms bare, it will give us an idea of that ſevere character of maſculine beauty, which puts one more in mind of Minerva than Venus.

Her learning The picture of her mind may as juſtly claim the ſame reſemblance; for ſhe underſtood ſeveral languages, ſpoke the egyptian perfectly well, and knew the latin, though ſhe did not care to ſpeak it, from a modeſt diffidence, but read and tranſlated it into greek. She was acquainted with hiſtory; and ſo particularly well vers'd in that of Alexandria and the eaſt, that ſhe is ſaid to have made an abridgment of them.

Virtues. She was cautious and prudent in council, but determined in executing, generous with œconomy, and ſo chaſte, that it is ſaid her ſole views in matrimony[c] were propagation. She could be open or reſerved, implacably ſevere or indulgently forgiving, as occaſion required.

Religion. We ſhall omit ſaying any thing of her religion, as a controverted article, which would have taken up more time than we can here ſpare. The opinion of her being made a convert by the Jews prevailed much, I think, for want of examination.

Fondneſs of pomp and ſhew. With theſe military and manly virtues, we diſcover a female fondneſs of ſhew and magnificence. Her dreſs was rich and ſet with jewels. She imitated in her way of living the royal pomp of Perſia, and received homage of her ſubjects with the ſtate of their kings. In her banquets ſhe copied after the Romans, but like Cleopatra drank out of gold cups ſet with gems.

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[a] Bonorum principum clementia ubi pietas requirebat.

[b] That Achilleus was her father, who was at the head of the Palmyrenes, who cut of the Roman garriſon, is believed by ſome upon the authority of Vopiſcus; but Zoſimus calls the chief of that rebellion Antiochus, and far from ſuppoſing him to have any connection with Zenobia, ſays, Aurelian thought him too contemptible for his reſentment. It is odd, that meer inſignificance ſhould ſave a ringleader from puniſhment, while thoſe concerned in an inferior degree, were thought proper objects of very cruel ſeverity.

[c] Cujus ea caſtitas fuiſſe dicitur ut ne virum ſuum quid em ſciret niſi tentatis conceptionibus. Treb. Pol.

Trebelluis

Trebellius Pollio, from whom I collect this account of her, adds a circumstance which may expose our heroine to some censure. He says 'she [a] often drank with 'her officers, and could, in that way, get the better of the Persians and 'Armenians, tho' he says she was generally moderate in the use of liquor.' Could drink much wine,

However this passage may imply a want of delicacy in Zenobia, it does not seem to carry with it any imputation of intemperance; I think all that we can fairly conclude from it is, that being able to drink much without intoxication, she made an artful use of that power, to get acquainted with tempers, and learn secrets necessary to her schemes. Tho' not intemperate.

To these extraordinary qualities, we may add, that Zenobia engaged in the management of affairs with advantages which scarce ever met in the same person and at the same time, youth and experience. Her age we may guess at from her being married and having children at Rome several years afterwards; and yet she had already made such progress under the direction of her husband Odenathus, whom she most constantly attended in the field, that the emperor Aurelian gives her the honour of his victories over the Persians, in his letter to the senate, which is preserved in Pollio. Began to govern young, tho' experienced.

It is a loss, that the only writer of her life, from whom we have collected these particulars of her manners, person and dress, should be so silent about the more important parts of her publick character, and enter so little into the spirit of her great actions, when he dwells so minutely upon things of less consequence: While we acknowledge ourselves indebted to him for her black eyes and white teeth, we cannot help reproaching him with an absolute silence about any battle she fought, or any law she enacted.

In this case we must have recourse to the history of her cotemporary Roman [b] emperors; her story is so connected with theirs, that they may throw some light upon each other.

Zenobia took upon her the government, in the name of her sons then very young: She found Gallienus one of the worst of the bad emperors, in the last year of his reign, and his affairs in a perplexity extreamly favourable to her ambition; his single good quality was a love of letters, his bad ones were without number, but lewdness and cruelty were his favourite vices, in which he is said to have rivalled Heliogabalus and Nero. A total neglect of his duty to his country and captive father, would have reduced the empire to an irretrievable state of confusion, had not Odenathus supported his interest in the east. Takes the government upon her, in the name of her sons. Gallienus. His character

Zenobia's views were inconsistent with any longer alliance with the Romans. Upon what pretence she broke through the engagements they and her husband were under, is not clear; but she attacked and routed Heraclianus the Roman general, sent by Gallienus with an army against the Persians, who narrowly escaped, after a sharp engagement, and left her in possession of Syria and Mesopotamia. In the same year Gallienus was murthered at Milan. Zenobia conquers Syria and Mesopotamia.

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[a] Bibit sæpe cum ducibus, cum esset alius sobria, bibit etiam cum Persis & Armenis ut eos vinceret. Treb. Pol.

[b] The facts are taken from Zosimus and Vopiscus; it will be needless to quote them in every instance.

Claudius.

Claudius succeeded him; a character so amiable and so different from his predecessor, that he would probably have restored happiness and tranquility to the empire, had he reigned long enough. 'He [a] had the valour of 'Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and the moderation of Augustus;' virtues which he indefatigably exerted in the publick service. The grand object of his attention was reformation. How difficult this task was, appears from the letter he wrote to the senate immediately before that memorable victory which gave him the name of Gothicus.

His Character.

Zenobia conquers Egypt.

While he was thus taken up by affairs nearer home, Zenobia finding a party for her in Egypt, supported by one Timogenes, sent Zabdas, an experienced officer, who had fought under Odenathus, and attended her in all her battles, to make the conquest of that country, to which she perhaps claimed an hereditary right, as the descendant of the Ptolemy's, their former kings. He came to a battle with the Egyptians, the success of which put him in possession of that province, where he left a body of 5000 men, and returned to Palmyra.

This revolution happened in the absence of Probus præfect of Egypt, who was then out upon a cruise against the pyrates who infested the neighbouring seas. Upon the news of it he returned, and drove the Palmyrene troops out of the country.

This sudden turn of affairs brought back Zabdas again with his army. Probus engaged and beat him; but not content with this success, attempted to cut off the retreat of the Palmyrenes: Which proved fatal to him, for having with that view got possession of those heights near Babylon, (which command the present town of Cairo) Timogenes, better acquainted with the country, shewed the Palmyrenes an unguarded road up to that part, by which they surprised and destroyed his army. Probus taken prisoner, and drove to despair by the misfortunes his mismanagement had occasioned, killed himself, and Zenobia became mistress of Egypt.

Claudius resolved to march against Zenobia about the latter end of the second year of his reign; but was taken off by the plague at Syrmium in Pannonia.

Aurelian.

Aurelian was elected in his room by the army, and Quintillus brother to the late emperor by the senate; but the death of the latter in seventeen days after he was proclaimed, prevented a competition, and Aurelian was unanimously declared.

His character

He was a mere soldier of fortune, and from the lowest rank in the army rose to be general of the cavalry: remarkable bodily strength, great courage, and an unwearied attention to military discipline, were the virtues to which he owed his rise. He was generous in rewarding, but quick and always severe in punishing; cruelty was his dangerous vice, and the more so, as he was credulously open to accusations. However, Rome got more by his virtues than she lost by his vices. The disorders introduced by Gallienus were but partly remedied by Claudius, and still wanted a man of Au-

[a] Treb. Pollio. [b] Preserved in Treb. Pol. vit. Zenob.

relian's

relian's active ſpirit to compleat the work. While the two firſt years of his reign were ſucceſsfully employed againſt the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, and in reforming the police at Rome, Zenobia added a great part of Aſia Minor to her dominions.

Zenobia conquers great part of Aſia.

It may be worth while to take a ſhort view of Zenobia's preſent ſituation. She is now arrived at the higheſt pitch of her glory, and furniſhes an example of one of the moſt rapid and extraordinary changes of fortune we meet with in hiſtory.

The extent of her conqueſts.

A ſmall territory in the deſart, under the government of a woman, extends its conqueſts over many rich countries and conſiderable ſtates. The great kingdoms of the Ptolemy's and the Selucidæ, are become part of the dominions of a ſingle city, whoſe name we in vain looked for in their hiſtory; and Zenobia lately confined to the barren plains of Palmyra, has now Egypt in her dominions to the ſouth, and to the north commands as far as the Boſphorus and black ſea.

Her ſucceſs had hitherto been very little interrupted; Claudius thought it the moſt prudent meaſure to employ his whole force in the ſuppreſſion of evils nearer home. This conduct had Aurelian's approbation, as we ſee both in his letter [a] to the ſenate, and by his taking the ſame ſteps; for he intirely ſubdued the Goths, and then marched to the relief of the eaſtern empire. He croſſed the Boſphorus at Byzantium, and except at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, which he took by ſtratagem, met with no oppoſition in his march to Antioch.

Battles of Antioch and Emeſa.

At this city and at Emeſa, were fought theſe two battles by which Aurelian recovered the provinces of the eaſt, and Zenobia was reduced to take ſhelter within the walls of her own capital.

The moſt remarkable things in theſe two actions, the laſt of which was very obſtinate, were the ſuperiority the Palmyrenes had in their cavalry, and the Romans in the art of war. The ſame country excells in horſes and horſemanſhip at this day.

Palmyra is beſieged by Aurelian.

Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra, greatly harraſſed in his march by the Syrian banditti, and having taken proper precautions to have his army ſupplied with proviſions, beſieged the town. The obſtinacy with which the garriſon defended it, is particularly taken notice of in a letter [b] from Aurelian to Mucapores, as an apology for the length of the ſiege.

He writes to Zenobia.

At laſt tired out with unſucceſsful attempts, he was reſolved to try the effects of negotiation, and accordingly wrote [c] to Zenobia, but in a ſtyle

[a] Preſerved in Treb. Pol. vit. Zenob.

[b] Quoted by Vopiſcus. vit. Aurelian.

[c] The letter is preſerved in Vopiſcus. Aurelianus imperator Ro. orbis & receptor Orientis, Zenobiæ, cæteriſque quos ſocietas tenet bellica.—Sponte facere debuiſtis id quod meis litteris nunc jubetur: deditionem præcipio impunitate vitæ propoſita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam, ubi te ex ſenatus ampliſſimi ſententia collocavero. Gemmas, argentum, aurum, ſericum, equos, camelos in ærarium Ro. conferas. Palmyrenis jus ſuum ſervabitur: Vopiſcus *adds*. Hac epiſtolâ accepta, Zenobia ſuperbius inſolentiuſque reſcripſit quam ejus fortuna poſcebat, credo ad terrorem. *The ſame author gives the following copy of her letter.* Zenobia regina Orientis Aureliano Auguſto.——Nemo adhuc, præter te, quod poſcis litteris petiit: virtute faciendum eſt quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum. Deditionem meam petis, quaſi neſcias Cleopatram reginam perire maluiſſe quam in qualibet vivere dignitate: nobis Perſarum auxilia non deſunt, quæ jam ſperamus. Pro nobis ſunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. Latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt; quid igitur ſi illa venerit manus, quæ undique ſperatur? Pones profecto ſupercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quaſi omnifariam victor, imperas. *Vid. Vopiſc. in vita Aurelian.*

which rather commanded than propoſed terms, which ſhe rejected with great diſdain; and notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate of her affairs treated his offers as inſolent; bid him remember that Cleopatra preferred death to a diſhonourable life; and even inſulted him with the advantages the Syrian banditti had got over his army.

Her haughty anſwer.

This haughty anſwer greatly enflamed Aurelian: he immediately ordered a general attack with more fury than ever, and at the ſame time that he preſſed them ſo vigorouſly in the town, he intercepted their Perſian auxiliaries, and bought off the Saracens and Armenians.

Palmyra diſtreſſed.

Beſides this, proviſions began to fail in the town, while the enemy was well ſupplied; a circumſtance greatly diſcouraging to the beſieged, who placed their chief hopes in the difficulty Aurelian would find of ſubſiſting his army in the deſart.

In this diſtreſs it was reſolved in council, to let the Perſians know the deſperate ſituation they were in, and to implore their aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy.

Zenobia attempts to go to Perſia for ſuccour. Is taken.

Zenobia undertook to tranſact this affair in perſon, and ſet out for Perſia upon a dromedary, an animal made uſe of for expedition in the ſame country at this day; but ſhe found it impoſſible to eſcape the vigilance of the beſiegers. Aurelian informed of her eſcape, diſpatched a party of horſe, which overtook her juſt as ſhe had got into a boat to paſs the Euphrates.

We are told, that the ſight of the captive queen gave the Roman emperor infinite pleaſure, at the ſame time his ambition ſuffered ſome mortification, when he conſidered that poſterity would always look upon this, only as the conqueſt of a woman.

Palmyra ſubmits.

Zenobia being taken, the citizens of Palmyra ſubmitted themſelves to the emperor's mercy, though a conſiderable party were for defending the city to the laſt. He ſpared them upon their ſubmiſſion, and marched to Emeſa with Zenobia, and a great part of the riches of Palmyra, where he left a garriſon of 600 archers, commanded by Sanderio.

At Emeſa, Aurelian made enquiry into Zenobia's conduct, and her motives for ſo much obſtinacy.

Zenobia gives up her friends to death.

I wiſh it were poſſible to vindicate her behaviour upon this occaſion: but here ſhe fell ſhort of her grand model Cleopatra, and purchaſed a diſhonourable life, at the expence of her friends, whom ſhe betrayed as her adviſers in what ſhe had done: They were put to death, and ſhe reſerved to grace the emperor's triumph.

Longinus is among them.

Among thoſe, who ſuffered, was Longinus. He was accuſed of having dictated the haughty letter, which his miſtreſs Zenobia wrote to the emperor. The [a] intrepid ſteadineſs with which he met his fate, ſhews that he was as brave, as he was learned.

[a] Zoſ. lib. I.

The

The misfortunes of Palmyra did not end here: So quick a transition from long enjoyed liberty to a state of slavery, is apt to suggest desperate measures. The inhabitants cut off the Roman garrison. Aurelian informed of this in his road to Rome, returned with uncommon expedition, took and destroyed the town, putting to death most of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex.

Palmyra revolts, and is punished for it.

For the particulars of this cruelty, we have the emperor's own authority in his letter [a] to Bassus, whom he ordered to repair the temple of the sun, damaged by the soldiers, and appropriated to that use 300 pounds weight of gold, found in Zenobia's coffers; with 1800 pounds weight of silver, from the goods of the people, besides the jewels of the crown.

The most credible account of the remaining part of Zenobia's life is, that Aurelian carried her to Rome, where she graced his magnificent triumph; and was allotted by that emperor, some lands at Conche, near the road from Rome to the antient Tibur, where at this day some ruins are shewn to travellers, as the remains of her Villa. She is said to have married there and to have had children.

Zenobia brought to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her life.

From this time Palmyra having lost its liberty, had, no doubt, a Roman governor. Ceionius Bassus, to whom Aurelian wrote the letter we have mentioned, was very probably the first; and we find Hierocles in that charge for the fifth time, with the name of president (Præses) of the province, when Dioclesian erected some buildings there. This information we owe to the only Latin inscription we found at Palmyra, to which we refer the reader [b].

Dioclesian builds at Palmyra.

The magnificent remains of Dioclesian's buildings at Rome, Spalato, and Palmyra, shew this art flourished, as late as the reign of that emperor, contrary to the opinion of Sir William [c] Temple, who says that Trajan's bridge over the Danube seems to have been the last flight of antient architecture.

The first Illyrian [d] legion was quartered at Palmyra, about the year of Christ 400; but it seems doubtful, whether it continued to have a Roman garrison without interruption; for Procopius [e] says, that Justinian repaired Palmyra, which had been for some time almost quite deserted, and supplied the town with water for the use of a garrison which he left there. Such repairs no doubt regarded more its strength than ornament. This author seems very little acquainted with its antient history, when he says it was built in that situation, to stop the incursions of the Saracens into the Roman territories. We have no more of Palmyra in the Roman history.

Justinian repairs it.

The civil revolutions of this country, shew that christianity could have been but for a small time the established religion; so that I am not surprized at getting nothing worth repeating from church history.

[a] This letter is also preserved in Vopiscus. Aurelianus Augustus Ceionio Basso.—Non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios, jam satis Palmyrenorum cæsum atque occisum est. Mulieribus non pepercimus, infantes occidimus, senes jugulavimus, rusticos interemimus, cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus? Parcendum est iis qui remanserunt. Credimus enim paucos tam multorum suppliciis esse correctos. Templum sane solis, quod apud Palmyram aquilifer legionis tertiæ cum vexilliferis & draconario cornicinibus atque liticinibus diripuerunt, ad eam formam volo, quæ fuit, reddi. Habes trecentas auri libras Zenobiæ capsulis: habes argenti mille octingenta pondo. De Palmyrenorum bonis habes gemmas regias. Ex his omnibus fac cohonestari templum: mihi & diis immortalibus gratissimum feceris. Ego ad senatum scribam, petens ut mittat pontificem, qui dedicet templum.

[b] See Inscription XXVII.

[c] Essay on antient and modern learning.

[d] Notitia Imp.

[e] Procop. Cæsar. de ædeficiis Justin. lib. 2. cap. ii.

It is little known since Mahomet's appearance. Its various fortunes from the time of Mahomet's appearance are very obſcure. That it has been made uſe of as a place of ſtrength, appears from the alterations made to anſwer that purpoſe in the temple of the ſun, which, as well as the caſtle on the hill, cannot be above five or ſix hundred years old.

Is mentioned by Benjamin Tudulenſis, who was there about 1172. Benjamin Tudulenſis, an ignorant and ſuperſtitious Jew, who paſſed through it in the twelfth century, ſays, there were 2000 of his religion there at that time.

By Abulfeda who lived in 1121. Of the Arabian writers, ſome take no notice of Palmyra, and of thoſe who do, Abulfeda prince of Hamah, a city in its neighbourhood, who wrote about the year 1321, ſeems to be the only one worth quoting. He mentions very ſhortly its ſituation, ſoil, palm and fig-trees; its many antient columns, and that it had a wall and caſtle. He was very probably ignorant, both of its Greek name and hiſtory, and only calls it Tedmor.

Little known to geographers. On the other hand, ſome of the beſt writers on antient geography, who were in general acquainted with the hiſtory of Palmyra, ſeem quite ignorant of its ruins. Caſtaldus, Ortelius and others, do not take it for the Tedmor of Abulfeda, but give it other modern names.

In ſhort, ſo little were thoſe ruins known before the latter end of the laſt century, that had their materials been employed in fortifying the place, which might have been a very natural conſequence of a war between the Turks and Perſians, Palmyra would ſcarce have been miſt: a very ſtrong inſtance of the precarious fate, that the greateſt monuments of human art and power are liable to!

The Engliſh merchants viſit it in 1678. But about that time, ſome Engliſh merchants from Aleppo viſited theſe ruins, who were plundered by the Arabs, and obliged to return without ſatisfying their curioſity: but made a ſecond attempt thirteen years after

And in 1691. the firſt, and ſtayed there four days.

Their account is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and is the only one I have ever ſeen of this place. It is wrote with ſo much candour and regard to truth, that ſome errors occaſioned by haſte, and their not being much acquainted with architecture and ſculpture, deſerve indulgence. We hope, at leaſt, our additional authority will reſcue them from an unjuſt imputation, which was the more dangerous as it had the ſanction of ſome men of ſenſe and letters, who found it eaſier to doubt[a] the veracity of their relation, than to account for ſuch vaſt ruins, in ſo odd a place.

Our journey there in 1751. If our journey thither in the year 1751 has produced any thing which may be more ſatisfactory to the curious, it is entirely owing to our having undertook it with advantages which they wanted; and however we may claim the merit of a more inquiſitive examination into the ruins of Palmyra, the diſcovery of them is entirely due to the Engliſh factory at Aleppo.

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[a] Nunc rudera ſuperſunt, magnæ olim urbis indicia, ut referunt ii. quorum tamen nolim fidem præſtare. Pere Hardouin. Vide Plin. lib. v. Hiſt. Nat.

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The account given by theſe gentlemen occaſioned a ſhort hiſtory of the antient ſtate of Palmyra, and ſome ingenious remarks on the inſcriptions found there, by Doctor Halley; as alſo a hiſtory of Palmyra, and commentary upon the inſcriptions, by Ab. Seller. The firſt ſeemed to me too ſhort, and the laſt too diffuſed, as well as incorrect, to anſwer what is meant by this enquiry; in which, however, I have had ſome aſſiſtance from both.

In this ſhort sketch of the hiſtory of Palmyra, it appears that all we have been able to collect from books, with regard to its buildings is, that they were repaired by Adrian, Aurelian, and Juſtinian, the Latin inſcription adds Diocleſian. We ſhall now proceed to what we propoſed, as the ſecond part of this enquiry.

On the TASTE of the ARCHITECTURE.

HOW far the taſte and manner of the architecture may give any light into the age which produced it, our engravings will put in every perſon's power to judge for himſelf; and in forming ſuch judgment, the reader will make what uſe he thinks proper of the following obſervations, thrown together, without any view to order.

Ruins at Palmyra more antient than thoſe we meaſured.

We thought we could eaſily diſtinguiſh, at Palmyra, the ruins of two very different periods of antiquity; the decay of the oldeſt, which are meer rubbiſh, and incapable of meaſurement, looked like the gradual work of time; but the later ſeemed to bear the marks of violence.

Sameneſs of the architecture there.

There is a greater ſameneſs in the architecture of Palmyra, than we obſerved at Rome, Athens, and other great cities, whoſe ruins evidently point out different ages, as much from the variety of their manner, as their different ſtages of decay. The works done during the republican ſtate of Rome are known by their ſimplicity and uſefulneſs, while thoſe of the emperors are remarkable for ornament and finery. Nor is it leſs difficult to diſtinguiſh the old ſimple dorick of Athens from their licentious corinthian of a later age. But at Palmyra we cannot trace ſo viſible a progreſs of arts and manners in their buildings; and thoſe which are moſt ruinous ſeem to owe their decay rather to worſe materials, or accidental violence, than a greater antiquity. It is true, there is in the outſide of the ſepulchral monuments, without the town, an air of ſimplicity very different from the general taſte of all the other buildings, from which, and their ſingular [a] ſhape we at firſt ſuppoſed them works of the country, prior to the introduction of the Greek arts; but we found the inſide ornamented as the other buildings.

Almoſt all corinthian.

It is remarkable, that except four ionick half columns in the temple of the ſun, and two in one of the mauſoleums, the whole is corinthian, richly ornamented with ſome ſtriking beauties, and ſome as viſible faults.

In the variety of ruins we viſited in our tour through the eaſt, we could not help obſerving, that each of the three Greek orders had their

[a] I mean ſingular, with regard to the antient buildings of Greece and Italy; but in countries where the uſe of bells has made great ſteeples common, they would not appear ſo, for they are exactly of that form.

faſhionable periods: The oldeſt buildings we ſaw were dorick; the ionick [a] ſucceeded, and ſeems to to have been the favorite order, not only in Ionia, but all over Aſia Minor, the great country of good architecture, when that art was in its higheſt perfection. The corinthian came next in vogue, and moſt of the buildings of that order in Greece ſeem poſterior to the Romans getting footing there. The compoſite, and all its extravagancies followed, when proportion was entirely ſacrificed to finery and crowded ornament.

Which was the Greek order laſt in vogue.

Sculpture ſooner brought to perfection and ſooner loſt than architecture.

Another obſervation we made in this tour, and which ſeems to our preſent purpoſe, was, that in the progreſs of architecture and ſculpture towards perfection, ſculpture arrived ſooneſt at it, and ſooneſt loſt it.

Examples of it.

The old dorick of Athens is an inſtance of the firſt, where the bas-reliefs on the metopes of the temples of Theſeus and Minerva, (the firſt built ſoon after the battle of Marathon, and the latter in the time of Pericles) ſhew the utmoſt perfection that art has ever acquired, though the architecture of the ſame temples is far ſhort of it, and in many particulars againſt the rules of Vitruvius, who appears to have founded his principles upon the works of a later age.

That architecture out-lived ſculpture we had ſeveral inſtances in Aſia Minor, and no where more evident proofs of it, than at Palmyra.

This obſervation on the different fates of thoſe ſiſter-arts, which I have attempted to ſupport by facts, has appeared a little extraordinary to ſome perſons, who very juſtly conſider architecture as the mere child of neceſſity, a diſcovery which our firſt wants muſt have pointed out, and employed us in long before we could have thought of ſculpture, the work of luxury and leiſure. How comes it about then, ſay they, that it ſhould be left ſo far behind by an art much later thought of? Perhaps my having had ocular demonſtration of the fact, may induce me to think too favourably of the following manner of accounting for it.

Reaſon of it.

The ſculptor having for his object the human figure, has in his firſt, and moſt rude eſſays, the advantage of a model in nature, the cloſeſt imitation of which conſtitutes the perfection of his art. But the architect's invention is employed in the ſearch of proportions by no means ſo obvious, though when once eſtabliſhed they are eaſier preſerved and copied. The firſt part of this remark perhaps accounts for the quicker progreſs of ſculpture, from the infancy of arts to their happieſt ſtate, as the latter part of it attempts to give the reaſon why architecture ſhould not ſo immediately feel the decline of good taſte.

If I am allowed to lay any ſtreſs on theſe obſervations, in applying them to Palmyra, it would induce me to fix the date of its buildings after the happieſt

[a] Which of the orders is moſt pleaſing, is a queſtion foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but leſt this preference of the ionick, in an age when architecture moſt flouriſhed, and by a people whoſe productions of genius have been ſo long the ſtandard for good taſte, that they have in ſome meaſure acquired a right of deciding, may be an authority too much in its favour, we may obſerve firſt, that the Ionians, were, no doubt partial to the order which they claimed the honour of inventing; and next, that they would have preferred the dorick, in ſome inſtances, but that their own order was leſs difficult to execute, and gave greater ſcope to the architect's fancy, not confined, as in the dorick, by a conſtant attention to a proper diſtribution of the metopes and tryglyphs. Hermogenes intended the famous temple of Bacchus at Teos ſhould be dorick, but for this laſt reaſon changed his plan to the ionick, after he had collected the materials. Vitruv.

age

age of the fine arts. But with regard to this we ſhall know more from the inſcriptions.

WE ſee from their dates, (in which the Æra of Selucus is obſerved, with the Macedonian names of the months) that there are none earlier than the birth of Chriſt, and none ſo late as the deſtruction of the city by Aurelian, except one in Latin, which mentions Dioclesian. They are all in a bad character, ſome ſepulchral, but moſtly honorary; the names in the oldeſt inſcriptions are all Palmyrene, thoſe of a later date have Roman prænomina. Of the INSCRIPTIONS.

TWO of the mauſoleums, which ſtill remain pretty entire, preſerve on their front very legible inſcriptions, of which one informs us, that Jamblichus, ſon of Mocimus, built that monument, as a burial-place for himſelf and his family in the year 314, (anſwering to the third year of Chriſt) and the other, that it was built by Elabelus Manaius, in the year 414 (the 103 of Chriſt) They ſhew the age of two buildings:

The ornaments of theſe two are much in the ſame taſte; but the latter is richeſt and moſt diligently executed. However, both are ſo much in the ſtyle and manner of the other publick buildings in general, that they may be ſuppoſed works not of very different ages. By which we may gueſs at the age of the reſt.

As to the honorary inſcriptions, they are almoſt all upon the columns of the long portico; where it will appear, that there were ſtatues of the perſons named in them, and that the ſeveral dates mark the time when ſuch perſons received that honour. So that all we can conclude from them, with regard to the buildings is, that the portico is older than the earlieſt of thoſe dates.

We were diligent in our ſearch after inſcriptions, from which we hoped for ſome valuable information, with regard to a place about which hiſtory is ſo deficient; but in vain. We for the ſame reaſon enquired ſtrictly after medals, cameo's and intaglio's; but with as little ſucceſs. All the medals we got were Roman ſmall braſs, and of the low empire, and ſome cameo's and intaglio's, which we found, are not worth notice.

We were not much diſappointed, in not finding the name of Zenobia in any inſcription, as her ſhort reign was almoſt entirely employed in a war, the unhappy end of which prevented any opportunity either of compliment or flattery. Nor is Doctor Halley's obſervation improbable, that the Romans, ſo much irritated at her behaviour, ſhould have deſtroyed, or defaced every thing which did her honour. Zenobia not mentioned in them.

UPON the whole, I think, we may conclude, that as ſoon as the paſſage of the deſart was found out and practiſed, thoſe plentiful and conſtant ſprings of Palmyra muſt have been known; and that as ſoon as trade became the object of attention, ſuch a ſituation muſt have been valuable, as neceſſary to the keeping up an intercourſe between the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean, being about twenty leagues from that river, and about fifty from Tyre and Sidon, on the coaſt. This, no doubt, muſt have happened very ſoon, from the ſituation of CONCLUSION.

Palmyra inhabited early, and why. this deſart, in the neighbourhood of the firſt civil ſocieties we know any thing of; and we have poſitive authority from the writings of Moſes, of a very early intercourſe between Padan-Aran, afterwards Meſopotamia, and the land of Canaan.

If it be alledged, that ſuch intercourſe was kept up, not through the deſart, but by a longer road, through the inhabited country, as is generally the practice at this day, and that the patriarchs in their journies between thoſe countries, uſed nearly the ſame caravan-road, which is now commonly choſen for ſecurity from Damaſcus by Hamah, Aleppo, Bir, &c. This objection may be anſwered by an obſervation which occured to me when I travelled this road into Meſopotamia (now Diarbekir) in my firſt tour into the eaſt in the year 1742, viz. That the expeditious journey of Laban and Jacob from Haran to Mount-Gilead, will admit of no other road than this through the deſart; which alone can account for the ſmall time in which they performed it. As Laban may have uſed extraordinary diligence, and exerted himſelf in the purſuit, we ſhall not venture to ſay what he could have done in ſeven [a] days; but Jacob's journey will admit of a pretty exact calculation, nor could he eaſily have arrived at the neareſt part of Mount-Gilead, even through the deſart, in leſs than ten days, as he muſt have kept the common caravan-pace, obſerved by the preſent inhabitants; for he travelled with the ſame incumbrances of family, flocks, and in ſhort, all his ſubſtance, carrying his wives [b] and children upon camels, as the Arabs now do, who retain a ſurpriſing ſimilitude of manners and cuſtoms to thoſe of the patriarchs, and much greater than is obſervable between any other antient and modern people.

This reaſoning, no doubt, ſuppoſes the face of the country to have been always the ſame that we ſaw it, which is not improbable; for few parts of the globe ſeem to be leſs ſubject to change than the deſart; nor does it ſeem unreaſonable to conclude, that Palmyra had always the ſame ſupply of water, and it's neighbourhood the ſame want of it. [c] Joſephus gives this as Solomon's reaſon for building here. The Perſians [d] when they became maſters of Aſia, attempted in ſome meaſure to water the deſart, by granting a property in the land for five generations, to thoſe who brought water thither. But the aquæducts which they made under ground, from Mount-Taurus, for this purpoſe, were ſo liable to be deſtroyed, that they did not continue to anſwer the end for which they were built. In the war between [e] Arſaces and Antiochus the Great, we ſee the firſt care on both ſides was to ſecure the water in the deſart, without which an army could not paſs.

The deſart not liable to change.

Its riches owing to the Eaſt-India trade. How much the Eaſt-India [f] trade has enriched all the countries through which it paſſed, from Solomon to the preſent time, is evident from hiſtory.

[a] Gen. chap. xxxi. v. 22. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and purſued after him ſeven days journey, and they overtook him in the mount Gilead.

[b] Gen. chap. xxxi. v. 17. Then Jacob roſe and ſet his ſons and his wives upon camels.

[c] Antiq. Jud. lib. 8.

[d] Polyb. lib. 10. It is true, the deſart mentioned by Polybius, in this and the following inſtance, is farther north than that of Palmyra, but the northern part of the deſart is more eaſily ſupplyed with water than to the ſouth.

[e] Polyb. ib.

[f] Prideaux Connect.

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The immenſe riches of that prince, of the Ptolemies, and indeed of Palmyra, are to be accounted for, from no other ſource.

The Phœnicians probably traded to Palmyra.

It ſeems highly probable that the Phœnicians, who from their intercourſe with the Jews, ſoon learned the value of the Eaſt-India trade, muſt as ſoon have found out how profitably it might be carried on through Palmyra, ſituated more conveniently for them, and at a leſs diſtance from their capital than from that of the Jews.

The grand paſſage for the India-Merchandize (before the Portugueze diſcovered that by the Cape of Good-Hope) was, no doubt, by Egypt and the Red-ſea. The cities Eſiongeber, Rhinocolura, and Alexandria, were the different marts for this trade, as it paſſed through the hands of the Jews, Phœnicians and Greeks. But there were formerly other channels leſs conſiderable, as there are to this day.

The trade through Turkey to India low, though not quite loſt.

It is true, that their India-Trade, is now at a very low ebb, occaſioned by the diſcovery of America, and the Cape of Good-Hope, but moſt of all by the bad government of the Turks, diametrically oppoſite to the true ſpirit of commerce. There is, however, enough left to point out what might be done with proper management. And beſides, the trade carried on by Cairo and Suez, a ſmall intercourſe is kept up by caravans from Aleppo and Damaſcus to Baſſora. I make no doubt, that ſhould this country once more become the ſeat of well regulated civil ſociety, Palmyra muſt of courſe become conſiderable, by the trade of India, though Egypt might ſtill be its grand channel.

Attempts to recover it.

When we were in Egypt, a perſon who had been long in India, and was well acquainted with the trade of that country, was ſent to Grand Cairo by the preſent emperor of Germany, to ſee what commerce might be laid open between his Tuſcan dominions and the Red-ſea. The gentleman ſo employed told us, that he did not then perſue his ſcheme of going on to Suez, and embarking for Mocha, becauſe of the preſent unſettled government in Egypt; but that if tranquility was once reſtored, and there was ſecurity for merchants, the trade would greatly anſwer.

But at whatever time we may ſuppoſe Palmyra became a paſſage for the commodities of India, it ſeems very reaſonable to attribute their wealth to that trade, which muſt have flouriſhed conſiderably before the birth of Chriſt; as we find by the inſcriptions, about that time they were rich and expenſive: and as Appian [a] expreſly calls them India-merchants, in Mark Antony's time, it ſeems to put this matter out of all doubt. I take it to have been owing to a want of proper attention to this circumſtance of the trade of Palmyra, and the riches it may have produced, that writers have hitherto pretty confidently attributed its buildings to the ſucceſſors of Alexander, or to the Roman emperors, rather than ſuppoſe its inhabitants could have been equal to the expence.

As antient authors are intirely ſilent about this opulent and quiet period of their hiſtory, we are left to conclude that, intirely intent upon com-

[a] De bel. civil. lib. 5.

merce, they interfered little in the quarrels of their neighbours, and wifely attended to the two obvious advantages of their fituation, trade and fecurity. A country thus peaceably employed, affords few of thofe ftriking events[a] which hiftory is fond of. The defart was in a great meafure to Palmyra what the fea is to Great Britain, both their riches and defence. The neglect of thefe advantages made them more confpicuous and lefs happy.

What connections the Palmyrenes had with the Romans.

What their particular connections were with the Romans, before the time of Odenathus, how early began, and how often interrupted, may be difficult to decide with any fatisfaction to ourfelves. The earlieft mark of their dependance, as we have feen in the foregoing hiftory is, their having been a Roman colony in the time of Caracalla : that they affifted Alexander Severus againft Artaxerxes, proves no more than an alliance : we fee Roman prænomina, and a few Roman names in the infcriptions; and that, in one place, they have fcratched out the name of a perfon, odious to the Romans; and in other places feem to acquiefce in the Roman deification, by calling two of their deceafed emperors gods. Whether all this means any more than compliment to their friends and allies, or argues a nearer intereft in the Roman religion and politicks, is left to the reader to judge for himfelf.

We have feen, before the time of Juftinian, this city was reduced to as low a ftate as that in which we found it, and had loft its liberty, trade, property and inhabitants, in that natural chain in which publick misfortunes generally follow each other.

Why the decay of Palmyra was fo quick.

If the fucceffion of thefe calamities was quicker than ordinary, it may be accounted for from the particular fituation of Palmyra : a country without land, if I may ufe that expreffion, could only fubfift by commerce[b]; their induftry had no other channel to operate in ; and when the lofs of their liberty was followed by that of trade, they were reduced to live idly on as much of their capital as Aurelian had fpared; when that was fpent, neceffity obliged them to defert the town.

However, it's ufe as a place of ftrength, was ftill evident to Juftinian ; a ufe ever infeparable from it's fituation, unlefs it fhould become the center of a great empire, which there feems no reafon to expect; for the defart is a very natural boundary, and will probably continue to divide different ftates, with as little interruption as it has done from the earlieft accounts of time.

Why now neglected, as a place of ftrength.

If the Turks do not feem to know its value in this light, it is only becaufe the weaknefs of the Perfians has encouraged them in their neglect of it, efpecially as the Arabs would make it a little troublefome to fupport a garrifon there. However, if they lofe Bagdat, their prefent extended frontier, they will no doubt, fortify Palmyra.

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[a] The Agareni, a people of Arabia Fælix, whofe capital was fituated, like that of the Palmyrenes, in a barren parcht defart, baffled the forces of two victorious Roman emperors Trajan and Severus, who after vigorous, tho' vain attempts, to add this to their other conquefts in the eaft, were obliged to leave its inhabitants in the poffeffion of their rights. This glorious defence of their liberty comprehends the whole hiftory of this people, as far as I can find ; and were it not for the injuftice and ambition of their enemies, we fhould not even know that there had been any fuch brave and powerful people. Vide Dion Caff. in vit. Trajan.

[b] A few exceptions which this opinion is liable to, are of fo fingular a nature, that they do not break in upon the general truth of it : if Jerufalem, a capital tolerably well inhabited, fubfifts without trade or agriculture, it is owing to the fingular devotion of the Chriftians, Jews and Turks for that city.

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As to the age of thoſe ruinous heaps, which belonged evidently to buildings of greater antiquity than thoſe which are yet partly ſtanding, it is difficult even to gueſs; but if we are allowed to form a judgment, by comparing their ſtate of decay with that of the monument of Jamblichus, we muſt conclude them extremely old; for that building, erected 1750 years ago, is the moſt perfect piece of antiquity I ever ſaw, having all its floors and ſtairs entire, though it conſiſts of five ſtories.

But thoſe buildings which we ſaw and meaſured, ſeem neither to have been the works of Solomon, as ſome have thought, nor of any of the Seleucidæ, according to others, and but few of them of any of the Roman emperors, but moſtly of the Palmyrenes themſelves, as we may conclude from their inſcriptions, which are in this caſe our beſt authority. The monument erected by Jamblichus ſeems to be the oldeſt; and the work of Diocleſian the lateſt, taking in about 300 years between them.

Its buildings, by whom;

And when erected.

The other rich and expenſive buildings were, no doubt, erected before the laſt of theſe dates, and probably after the firſt; perhaps about the time Elabelus built his monument.

It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that when private perſons could erect monuments of ſuch extraordinary magnificence, merely for the uſe of their own family, about the ſame time of opulence, the community may have been equal to the vaſt expence of their publick buildings.

We are at a loſs, what to think about the repairs of Adrian; thoſe of Aurelian were conſiderable and expenſive. We leave it to the reader to determine, whether theſe ſingularities of the temple of the ſun, which could ſcarce ever have entered into the original plan, can have been the work of that emperor.

What remains there are of the wall, do not look unlike the work of Juſtinian, and may be the repairs mentioned by Procopius, and the higheſt antiquity any thing elſe can claim is the time of the mamalucs.

That the ruins are the greateſt, and moſt entire of any we know, is, no doubt, much owing to there being few inhabitants to deface them, to a dry climate, and their diſtance from any city, which might apply the materials to other uſes.

Why ſo entire.

THEIR RELIGION, we know, was pagan: and from the extraordinary magnificence of the temple of the ſun, it would appear, that, in common with their neighbours in Syria, they had a high veneration for that divinity.

Religion of the Palmyrenes.

THEIR GOVERNMENT, we ſee, both from hiſtory and the inſcriptions, was republican; but their laws, police, &c. are entirely loſt; nor can we learn more than the names of a few magiſtrates from the inſcriptions.

Their government.

As to the ſtate of LITERATURE among them, we have great reaſon to judge favourably of it: nor could they have left a more lucky ſpecimen of their abilities in that way, than the only performance of their's, which has eſcaped, viz. Longinus[a] his Treatiſe on the Sublime.

Letters and arts.

[a] It is not certain that Longinus was a Palmyrene, though very probably he was of ſome part of Syria. But which argues the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of letters in a country, to have given birth to a great genius, or to have given him honour and ſupport?

Manners and customs.

Of their MANNERS AND CUSTOMS we know little. We ſee from Pollio, that Zenobia, notwithſtanding her military virtues, had ſomething of the Perſian luxury, and the ſame author ſays, that Herodes the ſon of Odenathus, was 'Homo omnium delicatiſſimus & prorſus Orientalis & Græcæ 'luxuriæ.'

Skill in horſemanſhip, and the management of the bow.

We have ſeen in the firſt part of this Enquiry, page 11. that horſemanſhip was held in much eſteem in this Country, as it ſtill is by the Arabs; and Appian [a] tells us the Palmyrenes were, expert archers.

Neceſſary ignorance of agriculture.

It plainly appears from their ſituation, that agriculture and country improvements could make but a very ſmall part of their buſineſs or amuſements. From hence it is eaſier to account for the extraordinary magnificence of their city, where, no doubt, their pleaſures, as well as their buſineſs muſt have centered.

No place for games or exercifes remaining.

We were a good deal ſurpriſed to perceive, that a people, confined by ſituation in their amuſements, ſhould have no remains of a theatre, circus, or any place for games and exerciſes, when we conſidered, what lengths the Greeks and Romans went in their love of theſe diverſions. Of all antient buildings thoſe beſt reſiſt the injuries of time, from their ſhape; and we had ſeen above twenty marble theatres in Aſia Minor alone, moſt of them pretty entire.

Probable however that they uſed them.

However, as we meet with the office of Αγοϱανομος, or Ædile, in the inſcriptions, it may be alledged from thence, that there were publick games at Palmyra; the inſpection of which, is a care belonging to that magiſtrate, whoſe duty originally extended only to the direction of the market. It is the more probable, that this office included both thoſe provinces at Palmyra, as Zenobius [b] ſeems to be complimented for having diſcharged it with liberality; a very popular virtue, and expected in him who exhibited games, tho' I do not ſee how it could be exerciſed in the direction of the market.

Sepulchres.

The uncommon magnificence of their monuments of the dead, ſeem borrowed from Egypt, to which country they, of all people, come neareſt in that ſort of expence. Zenobia was originally of Egypt; ſhe ſpoke their language perfectly well, and affected much to imitate in many things her anceſtor Cleopatra. But, that they borrowed ſome of their cuſtoms from Egypt before her time, ſeems plain from a diſcovery we made, to our great ſurprize, of mummies in their ſepulchral monuments. We had been in Egypt a few months before, and by comparing the linen, the manner of ſwathing, the balſam, and other parts of the mummies of that country, with thoſe of Palmyra, we found their methods of embalming exactly the ſame [c].

Art of embalming.

The Arabs told us, there had been vaſt numbers of theſe mummies in all the ſepulchres; but that they had broke them up, in hopes of finding treaſure. They were tempted, by the rewards we offered, to make ſtrict ſearch for an entire one; but in vain: Which diſappointed our hopes of ſeeing ſomething curious in the Sarcophagus, or perhaps of meeting with hiero-

[a] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 5.
[b] Inſcript. IX.

[c] The pieces we brought away, which are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. DAWKINS, are a proof of this.

glyphicks;

glyphicks. Among the fragments we carried off is the hair of a female, platted exactly in the manner commonly uſed by the Arabian women at this time.

From theſe few hints we ſee, that this people copied after great models in their manners, their vices and their virtues. Their funeral cuſtoms were from Egypt, their luxury was Perſian, and their letters and arts were from the Greeks. Their ſituation in the midſt of theſe three great nations makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe they adopted ſeveral other of their cuſtoms and manners. But to ſay more on that head from ſuch ſcanty materials, would be to indulge too much in meer conjecture, which ſeems rather the privilege of the reader than of the writer.

How much it is to be regreted that we do not know more of a country, which has left ſuch monuments of its magnificence? Where Zenobia was queen, and where Longinus was firſt miniſter?

THE

INSCRIPTIONS.

THE antient inscriptions we found at Palmyra were all Greek, or Palmyrene, except one in Latin. The greatest number of those in Greek were published by the English merchants of Aleppo, with some errors, but such as did not in any remarkable degree perplex, or alter the sense. Doctor Halley made some remarks, and Mr. Seller wrote a Commentary on them, in which he often takes the liberty of corrupting the genuine reading, to favour his own conjectures.

It is rather to correct the errors of the commentators, than those of the first copy, that we publish these inscriptions, upon which we shall only make such remarks as obviously occured to us on the journey, with a view to prepare them for a more critical examination; and beginning with those which have dates, we shall place them according to their antiquity.

I. Upon the architrave of the door of the most entire mausoleum, in that vale * through which we arrived at Palmyra; it is repeated in a larger character, higher up, on the front of the same building.

* See Plate II Fig. 41.

The letters C. ω. Є are used for Σ. Ω. Ε. as well in this, as in all the inscriptions of Palmyra. As this contradicts a rule established by antiquarians (who have decided, that those letters are not to be met with in that form on coins, or marbles before the time of Domitian) we were careful in examining the date, which is very legibly in both inscriptions, Δ̄ Ῑ Τ̄ and being read from the right to the left (the only way the dates of Palmyra are intelligible,) makes the 314th year of the Æra † of Seleucus, answering to the 3d year of Christ.

† See Inscrip. IX.

We took, as exactly as we could, from the marbles, the shape of the character, which is bad, and have observed the same number of lines. We are at a loss whether to attribute so much bad spelling, and different ways of spelling the same word, as may be observed in these inscriptions, to the mistakes of the engraver or to their ignorance of the Greek language at Palmyra. Longinus complains that he found it difficult to find a person there to copy Greek.

II. Upon the front of that mausoleum § of which we have given the plan, elevation and ornaments. Besides that we found no difficulty in reading it, both grammar and sense so evidently authorise the difference of this copy from that already published, that we shall not trouble the reader with any defence of it.

§ See Plate LV. LVI. LVII.

III. On the shaft of the great column marked F, in plate XLIII. If we are not mistaken, it is more difficult to understand than to translate it. This will appear by rendering it literally, which is easiest done in Latin thus: 'Senatus 'populusque Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem Æranis pronepotem, Mathæ abnepotem & Æranem patrem ejus, viros pios & Patriæ amicos & omnimodo placentes patriæ patriisque diis, honoris gratia ‡ 'anno 450 mense Aprili.'

‡ Viz. Posuerunt.

Our

Our difficulty is, that Æranes is called the father of Alialamenes, who is called the ſon of Panus.

IV. On a well proportioned pedeſtal, upon which is an attick baſe cut out of the ſame piece of marble, in the burying-ground of the Arabs. It ſeems to ſignify honours done by the ſenate, to ſome perſon, which have not been ſo laſting as we could wiſh. We give it a place here as its fragments confirm ſome part of the inſcription publiſhed by Gruter. The laſt word is, no doubt, Περιτιω, the Macedonian month, anſwering to February.

* See Plate XIV.

V. In the court of the temple of the ſun, on one of thoſe pedeſtals * which project from the ſhafts of the columns to ſupport ſtatues.

Though ſome words in this inſcription do not ſeem very intelligible, yet we make no doubt, but thoſe who have time to conſider it, will find that it relates to the antient trade and cuſtoms of Palmyra. We know from hiſtory [a] that there were formerly in that country, as well as at preſent, a ſet of petty princes, who lived upon rapine, making it dangerous for merchants to travel except in bodies, and eſcorted in the manner of the preſent caravans. We offer it as our conjecture, that the perſon mentioned in this inſcription was director or commander of ſuch a caravan, Συνοδιαρχης; and that he had a ſtatue erected to him by the merchants trading to Vologeſias on the Euphrates, eighteen [b] miles below Babylon, for his ſervices in protecting their trading caravans. Inſcription XVIII. which mentions the reaſon why a particular perſon was honoured by the ſenate, takes notice among his other publick ſervices, of that of his protecting ſuch caravans, ϛυνοδιας, at his own expence; and that he had the teſtimony of the chiefs or preſidents of the merchants to that purpoſe. Inſcription XIII. contains ſomething of the ſame kind. If we add to thoſe, Inſcription X. it will help out the ſenſe of this.

VI. Upon an altar dedicated to Jupiter.

† See Plate II. Fig. 32.

We found it cloſe by the large fountain, † which, no doubt, is the ſame called Ephca in the inſcription, of which Bolanus was elected overſeer. This office muſt have been of importance at Palmyra, where ſuch a fountain was ſo neceſſary as well to the ſubſiſtance, as pleaſure, of the inhabitants. Mr. Seller has changed the true reading of Ephca to Aphaca, to ſupport a very ſingular opinion, viz. that the famous oracular fountain is meant here, which was near that temple of Venus, between Heliopolis and Byblus, which long continued to have votaries among the women of Mount Libanus, noted for beauty and proſtitution. The laſt letters of the word Βωμον in the third line, have hitherto been ſuppoſed to belong to the ſecond, and explained upon that ſuppoſition. In ſeveral other inſtances where the text of thoſe inſcriptions has been altered, or a hiatus filled up by the com-

[a] Strabo's account of this is ſo exact a repreſentation of what paſſes in the ſame country at this time, that it may be proper to inſert it. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ϗ ἀποτέρω τῶν ὀρῶν, ἄνυδρα ϗ λυπρὰ ὄντα ἔχουσιν οἱ Σκηνῖται Ἄραβες, ληστρικοί τινες ϗ ποιμενικοὶ, μεθιστάμενοι ῥαδίως εἰς ἄλλους τόπους, ὅταν ἐπιλείπωσιν αἱ νομαὶ, ϗ αἱ λεηλασίαι.------Διὰ δὲ τῶν Σκηνιτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μαλίων νυνὶ λεγομένων, ϗ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐρημίας, ἡ ὁδὸς τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Σελεύκειαν, ϗ Βαβυλῶνα ἐμπορευομένοις ἐστίν.------Παρέχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Σκηνῖται τήν τε εἰρήνην, ϗ τὴν μετριότητα, τῆς τῶν τελῶν πράξεως, ἧς χάριν φεύγοντες τὴν παραποταμίαν, διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραβάλλονται, καταλιπόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἡμερῶν σχεδόντι τριῶν ὁδόν. Οἱ γὰρ παροικοῦντες ἑκατέρωθεν τὸν ποταμὸν Φύλαρχοι, χώραν οὐκ εὔπορον ἔχοντες, ἧττον δὲ ἄπορον νεμόμενοι, δυναστείαν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ παραβεβλημένος, ἴδιον ϗ τελώνιον ἔχει· ϗ τοῦτ' οὐ μέτριον. Χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοσούτοις, ϗ τοῖς αὐθάδεσι κοινὸν ἀφορισθῆναι μέτρον τὸ τῷ ἐμπόρῳ λυσιτελές. Strab. lib. XVI.

[b] Peutinger's Tables.

Marmora Palmyrena.

I

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΑΙΩΝΙΟΝΓΕΡΑCΩΚΟΔΟΜΗCΕΝΙΑΜΛΙΧΟCΜΟΚΕΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΚΚΑΛΕΙCΟΥ
ΤΟΥΜΑΛΙΧΟΥΕΙCΤΕΕΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΥΙΟΥCΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΥCΕΤΟΥCΔΙΤΜΗΝΙΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ

II

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΚΤΙCΑΝΕΛΑΒΗΛΟCΜ
ΑΝΝΑΙΟCCΟΧΑΙΕΙCΜΑΛΙΧΟCΟΥΑΒΑΛ
ΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΑΝΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΥΑΥΤ
ΟΙCΚΑΙΥΙΟΙCΕΤΟΥCΔΙΥΜΗΝΟCΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

III

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟCΑΛΙΑΛΑΜΕΙΝΑΠΑΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥΜΟΚΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΜΑΘΘΑΚΑΙ
ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΟΥΕΥCΕΒΕΙCΚΑΙ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑCΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΙΤΡΟΠΩ· ·
CΙΜΩCΑΡΕCΑΝΤΑCΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙCΠΑΤΡΙΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΤΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥCΝΥΜΗΝΟCΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

IV

ΗΒΟΥΛΗ
ΑΟ·ΑΛΕΙΝΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤΟΥCΑΒΑΤΟΥ
ΝΟΥΤΟΥΒΩΝΝΕΟΥCΕΠΑΝΓΕΙ·
Ν⁻ΝΑΥΤΗΕΠΙΔΟCΙΝΑΙΩΝΙΑΝ
ΙΘΥCΙΑΝΚΑΙ~ · · ΑΙ · · ΘΕ · ΑΤΑ
ΛΑΧΒΗΛΩΚΑΙ·CΧΗΟΑΜΕΙΟCΚ·
ΙΙΑΤΕΙΠΑΤΡΩΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΤΕΙΜΗCΚΑΙ
·ΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥCΑΝΥΠ· · Ι · Ω

V

ΝΕCΗΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕC · · · · ·

ΝΕCΗΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕCΗ ΤΟΥΑΛΑΤΟΥΡΕΦΕΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥΑΡΙCCΕΟΥCΥΝΟΔΙΑΡΧΗΝΟΙCΥΝΑΝΑΒΑΝ
ΤΕCΜΕΤΑ·ΤΟΥΕΜΠΟΡΟΙΑΠΟΦΟΡΑΘΟΥΚΕ
ΟΛΑΓΑCΙΑΔΟCΤΕΙΜΗCΚΑΙΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΕΙΑC
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥCΓΝΥΜΗΝΟCΞΑΝΔ · · · ·

VI

ΔΙΙΥΨΙCΤΩΜΕΓΙCΤΩΚΑΙΕΠΗΚΟΩΒΩΛΑΝΟCΖΕΝΟΒΙΟΥ
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ΑΙΡΕΘΕΙCΕΦΚΑCΠΗΓΗCΥΠΟΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΟΥΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΤΟΝΒΩ (οι)
ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΕΤΟΥCΔΟΥΜΗΝΟCΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥΚ

VII

ΜΑΡΘΕΙΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΠΑΔΗΤΟΥΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ
ΤΟΥCΥΜΩΝΟΥCΟΡΑΙΧΟCΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ
ΑΝΗΡΑΥΤΗCΜΝΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΜΗΝΕΙΔΥCΤΡΩΤΟΥϚΥΕΤΟΥC

VIII

ΔΙΙΥΨΙCΤΩΚΑΙ·
ΠΗΚΟΩΙΙΟΥΑΥΡ·
ΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟCΟΚΑΙ
ΑΜΕΙΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΒΙ
ΟΥΤΟΥΑΚΟΠΑΟΥΓ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟCΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΕΝΕΤΟΥCΔΜΦ
ΑΥΔΥΝΑΙΟΥΚΔ

IX

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟC
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΖΑΒΔΙΛΑΝΔΙCΜΑΛ
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ΓΗCΑΝΤΑΕΝΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑΘΕΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΑΙΥΠΗΡΕΤΗ
CΑΝΤΑΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΙ
ΡΟΥΤΙΛΛΙΟΥΚΡΙCΠΕΙΝΟΥΤΟΥ
ΗΓΗCΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΙCΕΠΙΔΗ
ΜΗCΑCΑΙCΟΥΗΞΙΛΛΑΤΙΟΙCΙΝΑ
ΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗCΑΝΤΑΤΕΚΑΙΟΥΚΟΛΙ
·ΩΝΑΦΕΙΔΗCΑΝΤΑΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙΚΑΛΩCΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥCΑΜΕΝΟΝ
ΩCΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΗΝΑΙ
ΥΠΟΘΕΟΥΙΑΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΚΑΙΥΠΟΙΟΥ
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ΠΑΤΡΙΝΤΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥCΔΝΦ

X

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΖΕΒΕΙΔΑΝ
ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΖΕΒΕΙΔΟΥ
ΑCΘΩΡΟΥΒΑΙΔΑΟΙCΥΝΑΥΤΩ
ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕCΕΙCΟΛΟΓΕCΙ
ΑΔΑ ΕΝΠΟΡΟΙΑΝΕCΤΗCΑΝΑΡΕ
CΑΝΤΑΑΥΤΟΙCΤΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩΤΟΥΗΝΦ ΕΤΟΥC

XI

CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝΑΙΡΑΝΗΝΟ
ΔΑΙΝΑΘΟΥΤΟΝΛΑΜΠΡΟ
ΤΑΤΟΝCΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΕΞ ΝΩΝ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙ ΡΗΑΙ
ΟΔΟΡΟΥ CΤΡΑΤΙΩ
ΤΗCΛΕΓ ΚΗCΤΟΝ
ΠΑΤΡΩΝ · · ·ΕΙΜΗCΚΑΙΕΥΧΑ
ΡΙCΤΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥCΓΞΦ

XII

ΟΥΛΙΟΝ
CΕΛΕΥ
ΚΟΝ CΕΕΙΛΑ
ΔΥ ΩC
CΤΡΑΤ ΜΑΡΤΥ
ΡΗΘΝ ΤΕΙΜΗC
ΑΜΕΝ ΡΑΤΙCΤΗ
ΒΟΥΛΗΑ ΜΥΡΙΑC
ΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥC
ϚΞΦ ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΩ

XIII

ΗΒΟΥΛ ΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟ ΑΘΟΝ
ΜΑΛΗ ΡΧΕΜΠΟΡΟΝ
ΑΝΑΚΟΜΙC CΥΝΟΔΙΑΝ
ΠΡΟΙΚΑ ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥCΘΞΦ

I. Gibson sculp:

mentator, ſuch liberties have always perverted the genuine ſenſe. Thoſe miſtakes we now mention in general only as authorities for this inference, that all attempts to reſtore the imperfect ſenſe either of marbles, or manuſcripts ſhould be received with diffidence; for it is not difficult for a lively imagination to correct or fill up very plauſibly; and men are, in this caſe, led aſtray by their own ingenuity.

VII. The only inſcription already publiſhed, which we could not find.

* See Plate XIV.

It was copied from one of thoſe pedeſtals * already mentioned, which project from the ſhafts of columns, and is not ſepulchral, as has been imagined, but ſignifies that Martha had a ſtatue erected to her by her huſband Soræchus.

VIII. On an altar which we brought to England.

It has a Palmyrene inſcription on another face: The laſt two letters ſeem to ſignify the 24th day of the month: but if ſo, they muſt be read, not as the other dates, but in the common way, from the left to the right.

IX. On the ſhaft of a column in the long portico, where all the inſcriptions ſeem to have been under ſtatues.

† See VI. of Palmyrene inſcriptions.

The word, in which one letter is wanting, is plainly ολιγων, and not οικειων, according to Doctor Halley, nor των ιδιων, according to Seller. There is a word purpoſely eraſed both in the Greek, and Palmyrene † which is under it. This inſcription has been quoted in the antient hiſtory of Palmyra. What other uſe may be made of it, Doctor Halley has ſhewn, as follows.

'The Æra or accompt of years obſerved by the Palmyreni in theſe inſcriptions, is evidently that of Seleucus, called afterwards Dhilcarnian or Bicornis by the Arabians, and by them kept in uſe till above 900 years of Chriſt (as appears by the obſervations of Albatani, publiſhed in numb. 204 of the Philoſoph. Tranſact.) and not that of the death of Alexander. This may be demonſtrated from this inſcription, wherein Alexander Severus is ſtiled ΘΕΟC; that is, after the death and conſecration of that emperor, or after the year of our Lord 234; and from the name of Julius, who, when this inſcription was put up, was Præfectus Prætorio, (and could be no other than Julius Philippus Arabs, who might be eſteemed by the Palmyreni as their country-man,) it follows, that it was in the laſt year of Gordian Anno Chriſti 242 or 243: And that emperor being ſoon after murdered by the treachery of this Philip, who ſucceeded him, and his treaſon coming afterwards to light, it is not ſtrange that his name was purpoſely effaced in this inſcription. The date thereof, Anno 554, ſhews the beginning of this accompt 311 or 312 years before Chriſt, co-incident with the Æra of Seleucus, which was likewiſe obſerved by ſeveral other cities in the eaſt.'

X. In the long portico.

Seller's corrections and conjectures, upon this inſcription, will not bear examination. Doctor Halley's remark is this: 'κατελθοντες εις ολογεσιαδα ενποροιαν εςησαν, deſcendentes [ad] Vologeſiada commercium ſtabiliverunt anno 558, ſive anno Chriſti 247. Whereby it appears that this people, having had their trade

Marmora Palmyrena.

XIV
·ΥΠΙΛΙΟΝΟΥΟΡΩΔΗΝ
ΙΠΠΙΚΟΝΚΑΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ
ΠΑΛΜΥΡΗΝΟΝΒΗΛΑ
ΚΑΒΟCΑΡCΑΤΟΝΦΙ
· · · ΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥC ΟΦ

XV
CΕΠΤΙΜ
ΤΟΝΚΡΑ
ΠΟΝCΕΒ Η
ΝΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙ ΙΗΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟCΑΥΡ ΟCCΕ
ΠΥΙΜΟCΜ ΜΑΛω
ΚΑΝΝΑCCΟΥ ΟΚΡΑΤΙ
CΤΟCΤΟΝΦΙΛΟΝΚΑΙΠΡΟCΤ
ΑΤΗΝΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΕΤΟΥCΖΟΦΜΗΝΕΙΞΑΝΔΙΚω

XVI
CΕΠΤ ΟΥΟΡωΔΗΝ
ΤΟΝΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΡΟ
ΠΟΝCΕΒΑCΤΟΥΔΟΥΚΗ
ΝΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟCΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC
CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟCΙΑΔΗCΙΠ
ΠΙΚΟCCΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥΑΛΕ
ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΗΡωΔΟΥ
ΑΠΟCΤΡΑΤΙωΝΤΟΝΦΙ
ΛΟΝΚΑΙΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗΝ
ΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥC
ΗΟΦΜΗΝΕΙΞΑΝΔΙΚω

XVII
CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝΟΥΟΡωΔΗΝ
ΤΟΝΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΡΟ
ΠΟΝCΕΒΑCΤΟΥΔΟΥΚΗ
ΝΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟCΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCCΑΛΜΗC
ΚΑCCΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥ · · · ΕΝΑΙΟΥ
ΙΠΠΕΥCΡωΜΑΙωΝΤΟΝΦΙΛΟΝ
ΚΑΙΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗΝΕΤΟΥCΗΟΦ
ΜΗΝΕΙΞΑΝΔΙΚω

XVIII
ΗΒΟΥ ΜΟC
CΕΠΤΙΜ ΤΟΝΚΡΑ
ΤΙCΤΟΝC ΕΒΑCΤΟΥ
ΔΟΥΚΗΝ ΕΟΔΟΤΗΝ
ΤΗCΜΗ ΝΕΙΑCΚΑΙΑ
ΝΑΚΟΜΙC CCΥΝΟΔΙΑC
ΕΞΙΔΙωΝΚΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ
ΥΠΟΤωΝΑΡΧΕΜΠΟΡωΝΚΑΙ
ΛΑΜΠΡωCCΤΡΑΤΗΓΗCΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗCΑΝΤΑΤΗCΑΥΤΗC
ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛωΝΕΙΑCΚΑΙΠΛΕΙCΤΑ
ΟΙΚΟΘΕΝΑΝΑΛωCΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΑΡΕCΑΝ
ΤΑΤΗΤΕΑΥΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤωΔΗΜω
ΚΑΙΝΥΝΕΙΛΑΜΠΡωCCΥΜΠΟCΙΑΡ
ΧΟΝΤωΝΤΟΥ ΔΙΟCΒΗΛΟΥΙΕ
·ωΝ ΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΞΑΝ

XIX
·ΕΠΤΙ ·
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠ ΟΥΚΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟCΑΥΡΗ Ο ΒΑΛΟC · · ·
ΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΗΓΟCΙ·CΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑ
ΤΗCΚΟΛωΝΕΙΑC·ΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΝ
ΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥC · · · ΜΗΝΕΙ
ΑΠΕΜΑΙω

XX
· · · · · · · · ΟΔΗΜΟC
ΜΑΛΗΝΤΟΝΚΑΙΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝ
ΙΑΡΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΡΑΑΙΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΕΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΔΕΥΤΕ
ΡΟΝΕΠΙΔΗΜ· ·ΘΕΟΥΑΔΡΙ
ΑΝΟΥΑΛΛΙΜΜΑΠΑΡΑCΧΟ
ΤΑΞΕΝΟΙCΤΕΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΑ · ·

XXI
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟCΒΑΡΕΙΧΕΙΝ
ΑΜΡΙC·ΜCΟΥΤΟΥΙΑΡΙΒωΛΕΟΥC
ΚΑΙΜΟΚΙΜΟΝΥΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΕCΒΕΙC
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑCΤΕΙΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

XXII
ΜΑΛΙΧΟΝΝΕCΑΤΟΥΚωΜ·ΑΤΟΥΕΠΙΚΑΛΟ
ΥΜΕΝΟΥΑCΑCΟΥΦΥΛΗCΧΟΜΑΡΗΝωΝΠΑΛ
ΜΥΡΗΝωΝΟΔΗΜΟCΕΥΝΟΙΑCΕΝΕΚΑ

XXIII
ΓΕΝΔΑΤΙΟΝΟΥΕΛΛΗΙΟΝ
ΠΡΕΙCΚΟΝΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΝΤΟΝ
ΑΓΝΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΝCωΤΗΡΑ
ΜΑΝΝΟCΟΚΑΙΜΕΖΑΒΒΑΝ·
ΟΛΙΜΗΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

XXIV
CΕΠΤ·ΥΑΙΟΝΤΟΝΠΟΛ· ·ΤΗΝ
ΚΑΤ· · ·CΤΗΤΗΝΗΠΟΛΙC

XXV
ΙΟΥΛΙΟCΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟCΕΥCΕΒΗCΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙC
ΚΑΙΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟCΥΠΟΤωΝΘΕΙωΤΑΤωΝΑ·
ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡωΝΤΕΤΑΡΤΗC·ΤΡΑΤΕΙΑCΕΠΑΡΧ
CΕΙΛΗC · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ΑΡΕΑCΤΕΙΜΗC
·ΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥC · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

XXVI
ΤΟΜΝΗΜΙΟΝΤΟΥΤΑΦΕωΝΟCΕΚΤΙCΕΝΕΞΙΔΙωΝ
CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟCΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟCΟΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟCCΥΝ
ΚΛΗΤΙΚΟCΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥΤΟΥΝΑCωΡΟΥ
ΑΥΤωΤΕΚΑΙΥΙΟΙCΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΥΙωΝΟΙCΕΙCΤΟΠΑΝ
ΤΕΛΕCΑΙωΝΙΟΝΤΕΙΜΗΝ

XXVII
RESORBISSVIETPROPAGATORESGENERISHVMANIDDNNDIOCLE ITANVS
SIIMPIMPPET.CONSTANTIVSETMAXIMIANVSNOBB.CAES.CASTPAFELICITEPCONDIDERVNT
SOSSIANOHIEROCLITEV.PRAES.PROVINCIAE D.N.M.Q.EORVM.

J. Gibson sculp:

'interrupted by the wars between the Romans and Perſians under Gordian, 'did now ſend an embaſſy to the court of Sapores king of the Perſians, to 'get it re-eſtabliſhed; which ſucceeded according to their deſires.'

We are inclined to think it has a very different meaning; if we divide the words thus, ενποροι ανεστησαν, the inſcription may ſignify, that a ſtatue was erected to Julius Aurelius, &c. by the merchants whom he accompanied to Vologeſias. See inſcription V.

XI. The firſt three lines of this inſcription, are upon a pedeſtal in the long portico, the remaining imperfect part on the ſhaft of the column under it.

Though they have been publiſhed as ſeparate inſcriptions, we imagine that both together they may ſignify, that the ſtatue of Septimius Æranes the ſenator, was erected there by a ſoldier in honour of his patron, for ſo we would ſupply the letters wanting in the laſt line but one, πατρωνου τειμης.

XII. and XIII. In the long portico.

We inſert them principally with a view to their aſſiſting in the explanation of the Palmyrene inſcriptions, which are found under each.

XIV. In the long portico.

XV. This, with the four following, all in the long portico, we ſuppoſe refers to the ſame perſon. We alſo think, that the dates of the two laſt, viz. the 18th and 19th, which are not legible, could differ but a very little from the dates of this, and the 16th, and 17th; and that thoſe five inſcriptions are the lateſt we ſaw at Palmyra, in Greek. Our reaſon is, that the title Σεβαστος (Auguſtus) which we only meet with in thoſe inſcriptions, is applicable to Odenathus alone, who obtained the imperial purple, the year before the earlieſt of theſe dates, and enjoyed that honour but for a ſhort time. If during his ſhort reign we find ſo many complimentary inſcriptions to Septimius Vorodes, it may be accounted for, from his great rank as Επιτροπος Σεβαστου Δουκεναριος, which muſt have made him very conſiderable, eſpecially in the abſence of Odenathus, who was generally in the field. Doctor Halley imagines the Romans, who ſoon after this were in poſſeſſion of Palmyra, ſpared his memorials, as a favourite of Odenathus their friend, while they effaced all thoſe of Zenobia, and Vaballathus.

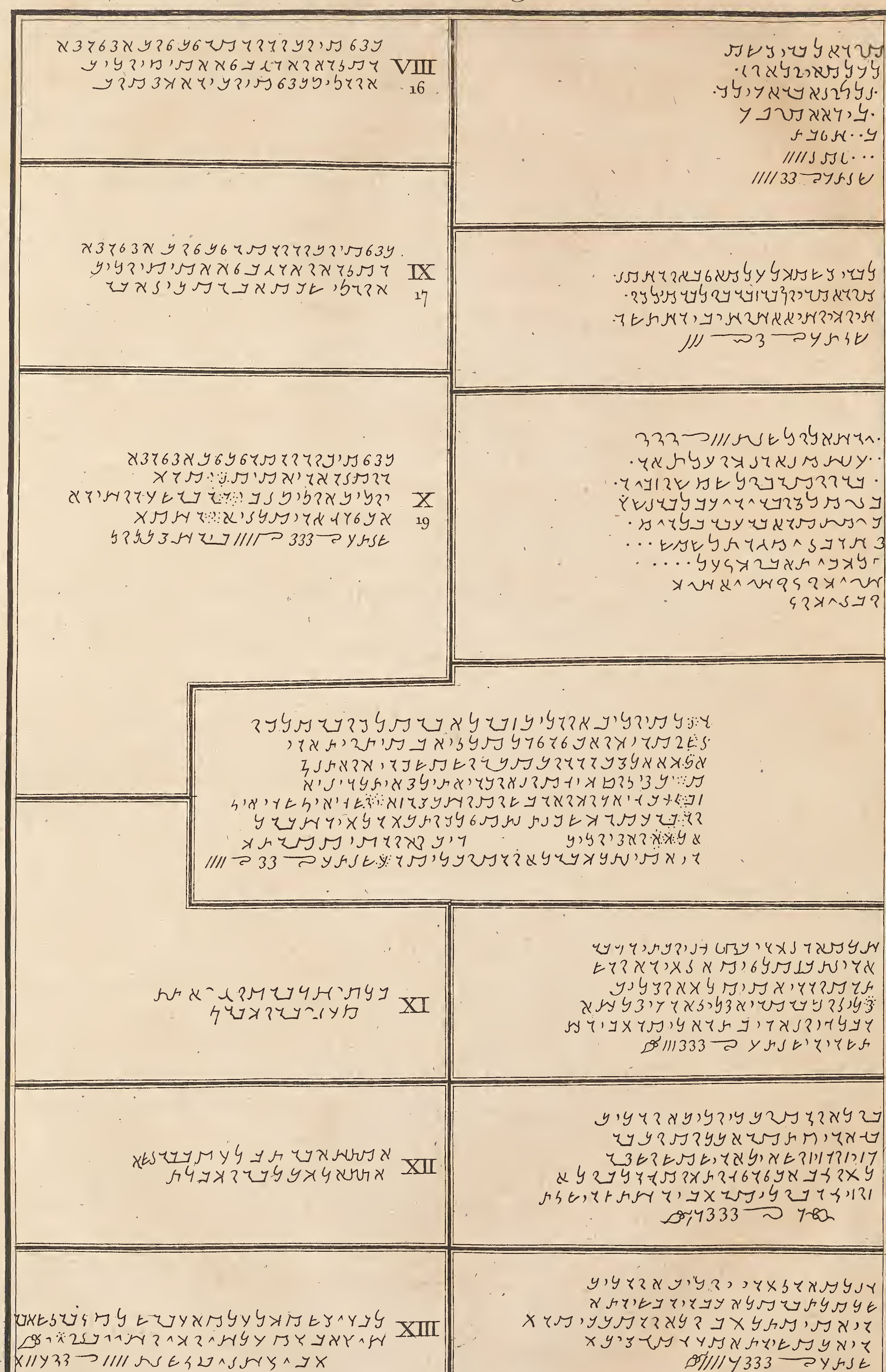
XVI. As we were afraid of having made a miſtake in the odd word αργαπετην, we examined the marbles a ſecond time, but found that we had copied it right both in this and the following inſcription; ſo that Doctor Halley's correction to αρταγετην, Præfectum annonæ, cannot be admitted.

XVII. The compliment paid by a Roman knight to Septimius Vorodes, whom he calls his patron, Προστατην, ſeems to be another argument of his high rank.

XVIII. See inſcription V. Doctor Halley conjectures the laſt word in the fourth line to be κρεοδοτην, diſtributor of the emperor's munificence in fleſh to the people.

XIX. This we inſert, as it may be of ſome aſſiſtance in the explication of the Palmyrene inſcription under it.

Marmora Palmyrena.



I. Gibson sculp: Red Lyon street Clerkenwell

XX. Upon one of the ſame ſort of pedeſtals already mentioned, projecting from the ſhaft of one of the columns of the little temple.* * See Plate XXVIII.

Though it has no date the ſubject ſufficiently ſhews it was inſcribed, after the death of Adrian, to the ſecretary of Palmyra, for ſervices done when that emperor was in Syria.

XXI. On the ſhaft of a large column marked 30 in plate II.

This and the following inſcriptions have no dates.

XXII. On a projecting pedeſtal of a column in the court of the temple of the ſun.

XXIII. and XXIV. In the long portico.

XXV. On a projecting pedeſtal of the column next to that of inſcription XXII.

XXVI. On an architrave, exactly like that from which we copied the firſt inſcription, which, no doubt, belonged to a mauſoleum.

Doctor Halley ſuppoſes it may have been that which Odenathus built before he had obtained the imperial dignity. For this opinion there ſeems no other authority than the name.

XXVII. This imperfect Latin inſcription, in a bad character, we copied from a broken architrave belonging to the building in plate XLV. Which we ſuppoſe to have been a work of Diocleſian, and that the word caſtra does not refer, as ſome think, to the fortifications of Cercuſium, but to Palmyra, which is called by Stephanus φρούριον.

The inſcriptions in a language unknown can be matter of entertainment to ſo few, that it may be proper to give our reaſons for allowing them a place in this work. The firſt ſpecimen of thoſe characters made publick was that in Gruter, from a marble at Rome, and publiſhed a ſecond time by Spon, with another of the ſame ſort. Doctor Halley, who found an irreconcilable difference between Gruter's and Spon's copy of the ſame inſcription, had the ſtone purpoſely viewed, and the exact figure of the letters taken; by which, and two other inſcriptions brought from Palmyra by the Engliſh merchants of Aleppo, he hoped one day to find out the alphabet. Bernard, [a] Smith, Rhenferdius, [b] and others, have attempted this diſcovery, but unſucceſsfully; [c] perhaps for want of ſufficient materials to work upon. It was entirely with a view to ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch perſons, and not our own, that we copied thoſe inſcriptions; and from the ſame motive Mr. Dawkins brought home three of the marbles.

We have placed thoſe inſcriptions in that order in which we think they are to be read, from right to left; the ſmall figure ſhews the number of the Greek inſcription, which was copied from the ſame marble with the Palmyrene, and of which, no doubt, it is a tranſlation; for this reaſon, that, by examining the Greek and Palmyrene inſcriptions copied from the ſame column, we find the Palmyrene characters, which ſeem to correſpond to any Greek word, are re-

[a] Inſcriptiones græcæ Palmyrenorum cum ſcholiis & annotationibus, Edwardi Bernardi & Tho. Smith.
[b] Periculum Palmyrenum.
[c] See Abbé Renaudot's diſſertation on thoſe inſcriptions, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

peated as often as that word occurs. This is most remarkable in the eighth and ninth Palmyrene inscriptions, in which more than the first two lines are exactly the same, and as much of the two corresponding Greek inscriptions are also the same: Besides, in the ninth Greek inscription there is a word purposely erased; and in the same part of the Palmyrene under it, there is also a word erased.

The marbles of the first three of the Palmyrene inscriptions are in the possession of Mr. DAWKINS, the 11th and 12th, were copied from under the heads in plate LVII. and the 13th from an altar. The 8th and 9th are not perfect; the ending of both was too much defaced to be copied. The small dots in some parts of those inscriptions, signify that the marble had suffered a little in that place. There are very few Greek inscriptions at Palmyra, which have not one, in this character, under them; and sometimes we met with the Palmyrene alone, but could not venture to copy those which were not tolerably well preserved.

A

J O U R N E Y

THROUGH THE

D E S A R T.

OUR journey to Palmyra was that part of our tour through the Eaſt, in which we expected to meet with the greateſt difficulties, as it was much out of the common road, and where the protection of the Grand Signior could do us no ſervice.

Aleppo and Damaſcus ſeemed to be the places where we might moſt effectually conſult our eaſe and ſafety in this undertaking. Having unſucceſsfully attempted to make the firſt of thoſe cities our road, we left our ſhip at Byroot on the coaſt of Syria, and croſſed Mount Libanus to Damaſcus.

The Baſhaw of this city told us, he could not promiſe that his name, or power, would be any ſecurity to us in the place to which we were going. From what he ſaid, and from all the informations that we could get, we found it neceſſary to go to Haſſia, a village four days journey north from Damaſcus, and the reſidence of an Aga, whoſe juriſdiction extends as far as Palmyra.

Since we propoſe this work merely as an account of the ruins of Palmyra, and not of our travels, we ſhall here only premiſe ſuch a ſhort sketch of our paſſage through the Deſart, as may give a general idea of our manner of travelling in a country, which no body has deſcribed.

Haſſia is a ſmall village upon the great caravan-road, from Damaſcus to Aleppo, ſituated near Antilibanus, and at a few hours diſtance from the Orontes. The Aga received us with that hoſpitality, which is ſo common among all ranks of people in thoſe countries; and though extremely ſurprized at our curioſity, he gave us inſtructions how to ſatisfy it in the beſt manner.

We ſet out from Haſſia the 11th of March 1751, with an eſcort of the Aga's beſt Arab horſemen, armed with guns and long pikes, and travelled in four hours to Sudud, through a barren plain, ſcarce affording a little browſing to antilopes, of which we ſaw a great number. Our courſe was a point to the ſouth of the eaſt.

Sudud is a poor ſmall village, inhabited by Maronite chriſtians; its houſes are built of no better materials than mud dried in the ſun. They cultivate as much ground about the village as is neceſſary for their bare ſubſiſtence,

S and

and make a good red wine. We bought a few manufcripts of their prieft, and proceeded after dinner through the fame fort of country, in a direction half a point more to the fouth, to a Turkifh village called Howareen (where we lay) three hours from Sudud.

Howareen has the fame appearance of poverty as Sudud. But we found a few ruins there, which fhew it to have been formerly a more confiderable place. A fquare tower, with projecting battlements for defence, looks like a work of three or four hundred years; and two ruined churches may be of the fame age, though part of the materials, aukwardly employed in thofe buildings, are much older. In their walls are fome corinthian capitals, and feveral large attick bafes of white marble. Thofe and fome other fcattered fragments of antiquity, which we faw here, have belonged to works of more expence than tafte. We remarked a village near this entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, which happens often in thofe countries, where the lands have no acquired value from cultivation, and are often deferted, to avoid oppreffion.

We fet out from Howareen the 12th, and in three hours arrived at Carietein, keeping the fame direction. This village differs from the former, only by being a little larger. It has alfo fome broken pieces of marble, which belonged to antient buildings, as fome fhafts of columns, a few corinthian capitals, a dorick bafe, and two imperfect Greek infcriptions. It was thought proper we fhould ftay here this day, as well to collect the reft of our efcort, which the Aga had ordered to attend us, as to prepare our people and cattle for the fatigue of the remaining part of our journey, which, though we could not perform it in lefs time than twenty four hours, could not be divided into ftages, as there is no water in that part of the defart.

We left Carietein, the 13th, about ten o'clock, which was much too late: but as our body became more numerous, it was lefs governable. This bad management expofed us to the heat of two days, before our cattle could get either water or reft; and though fo early in the feafon, yet the reflection of the fun from the fand was very powerful, and we had not the relief of either breeze or fhade during the whole journey.

Our caravan was now encreafed to about two hundred perfons, and about the fame number of beafts for carriage, confifting of an odd mixture of horfes, camels, mules and affes. Our guide told us, this part of our journey was moft dangerous, and defired we might fubmit our felves entirely to his direction, which was, that the fervants fhould keep with the baggage immediately behind our Arab guard; from which one, two, or more of their body were frequently difpatched, for difcovery, to what ever eminences they could fee, where they remained untill we came up. Thofe horfemen always rode off from the caravan at full fpeed, in the Tartar and Huffar manner. We doubted whether all this precaution was owing to their being really apprehenfive of danger, or whether they only affected to make us think highly of their ufe and vigilance. Our courfe from Carietein to Palmyra, was a little to the eaft of the north, through a flat fandy plain (without either tree or water the whole way) about ten miles broad, and bounded to our right and left by a ridge of barren hills, which feemed to join about two miles before we arrived at Palmyra.

The

The tiresome sameness, both of our road and manner of travelling, was now and then a little relieved by our Arab horsemen, who engaged in mock fights with each other for our entertainment, and shewed a surprising firmness of seat, and dexterity in the management of their horses. When the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco made their highest luxury, and while they indulged in this, sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a song or story, the subject love, or war, and the composition sometimes extemporary.

In nine hours from Carietein we came to a ruined tower, on which we observed, in two or three places, the Maltese cross. Near it are the ruins of a very rich building, as appeared by a white marble door-case, which is the only part standing and not covered with sand: its proportions and ornaments are exactly the same with those of plate XLVIII. At midnight we stopt two hours for refreshment, and the fourteenth about noon we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills to our right and left seemed to meet. We found between those hills a vale through which an aqueduct (now ruined) formerly conveyed water to Palmyra.

In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which upon a nearer approach we found were the sepulchres of the antient Palmyrenes. We had scarce passed these venerable monuments, when the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen, all of white marble, and beyond them towards the Euphrates a flat waste, as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view: So great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect. But the following plate will convey a juster idea of it than any description.

In the following work we not only give the measures of the architecture, but also the views of the ruins from which they are taken, as the most distinct, as well as the most satisfactory method. For as the first gives an idea of the building, when it was entire, so the last shews its present state of decay, and (which is most important) what authority there is for our measures.

PLATE I.

A

VIEW

OF THE

RUINED CITY OF PALMYRA,

Taken from the North Eaſt.

IN the following explication of this view, the plates are referred to which contain the parts of each building, at large ; and whatever part of this view is not more particularly explained afterwards, in other plates, was either too much deſtroyed to allow of meaſurement, or is purpoſedly omitted, to avoid a repetition of the ſame proportions and ornaments.

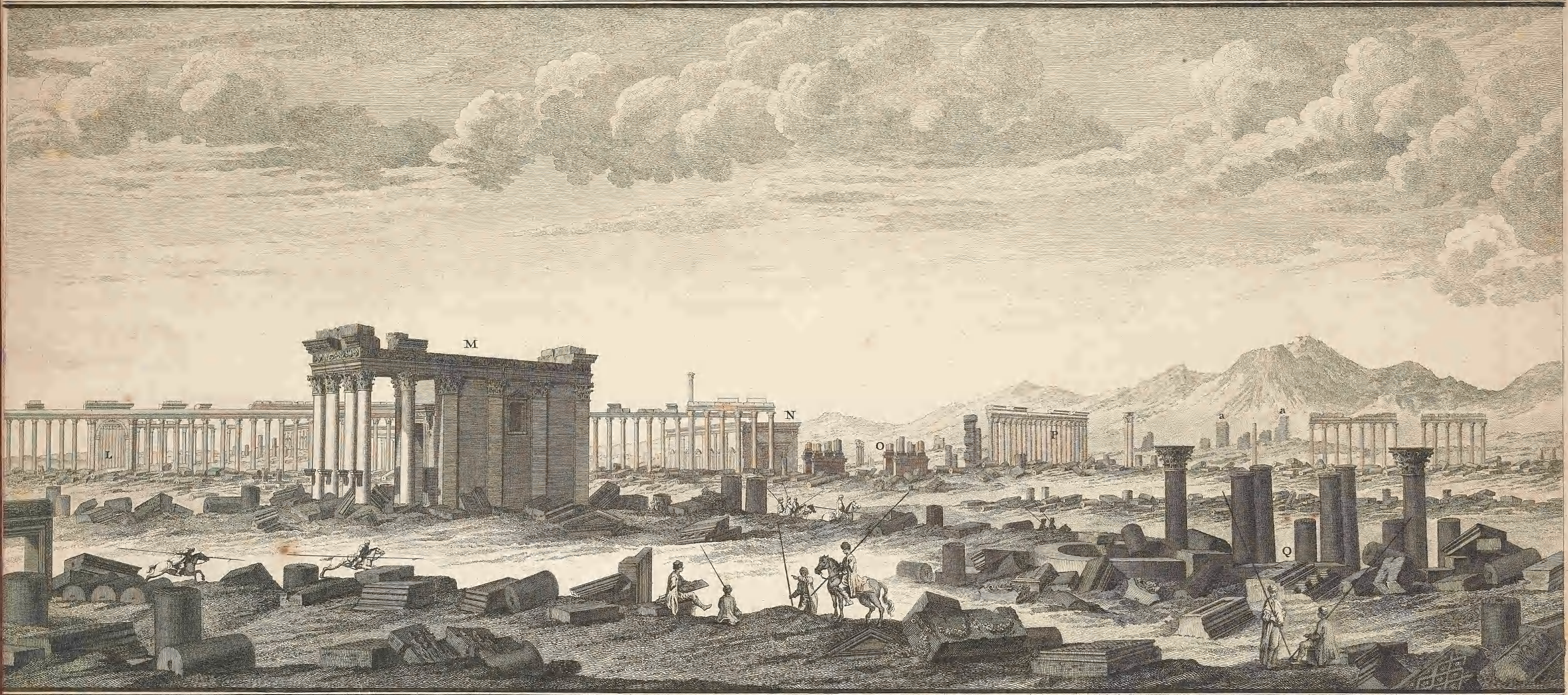
A. The temple of the ſun.
B. A ſquare tower built by the Turks, in the place where the portico ſtood.
C. The wall which encloſed the court of the temple. The parts of this temple and its court are particularly deſcribed from plate III to plate XXI.
D. Ground cultivated by the Arabs, whoſe olives and corn are divided by little encloſures of dried mud.
E. A very large column, the greateſt part of which, (with its entablature) is fallen. Some fragments about it ſhew, there has been a large building in this place. Its diameter near the baſe is five feet and a half.
F. A ruinous Turkiſh moſque, with its minaret.
G. A great column of the ſame diameter with that marked E.
H. An arch. See it deſcribed from plate XXII to plate XXVI. From this arch to the building marked W, a diſtance not much leſs than 4000 feet, extends a portico. Plate II ſhews the direction of its columns.
I. Columns, which ſtill ſupport a conſiderable part of their entablature, and are ſo diſpoſed, that they look like the peryſtile of a little temple, of which the cell is quite deſtroyed.
K. Here are four granite columns, one of them is ſtill ſtanding, the other three are on the ground; their ſhaft is of one piece, and their diameter the ſame with the other columns of the long portico.
L. A number of columns which, from the manner in which they are diſpoſed (See plate II) we thought at firſt might belong to a Circus; but, upon cloſer examination, it did not ſeem poſſible, that the ground could admit of ſuch a building. Their diameter is two feet four inches, and their intercolumniation ſix feet ten inches.
M. A little temple, which ſee deſcribed from plate XXVII to plate XXXI.
N. The cell of a temple, with part of its peryſtile.
O. Four large pedeſtals, which ſee from plate XXXII to plate XXXIV.
P. A line of columns, which ſeem to have belonged to a portico, terminating upon that part of the long portico, where the foregoing pedeſtals are. Their diameter is two feet ſix inches, and their intercolumniation ſeven feet three inches.
Q. Seems to be the ruins of a chriſtian church.
R. Nothing more remains of this large building, than thoſe four columns and their rich entablature.
S. Theſe columns are diſpoſed much as thoſe marked I.
T. Ruins of a ſepulchre.
V. Building which we ſuppoſe to have been erected by Diocleſian. See from plate XLIV to plate LII.
W. Sepulchre, upon which the long portico terminates to the north weſt. See from plate XXXVI to plate XLII.
X. Ruins of a Turkiſh fortification.
Y. A ſepulchre. See plates LIII and LIV.
Z. The Turkiſh caſtle on the hill.
a. The ſepulchres without the wall. See from plate LV to plate LVII.

AFTER

Tab: I.



PALMIRA URBS NOBILIS SITU, DIVITIIS SOLI, & AQUIS AMOENIS, VASTO UNDIQUE AMBITU ARENIS INCLUDIT AGROS, A QUÆ VOCATUR AD TIG



C VELUT TERRIS EXEMPTA A RERUM NATURA, PRIVATA SORTE INTER DUO IMPERIA SUMMA, ROMANORUM PAR
RIN CCCXXXVII MILL. PASSUUM: A PROXIMO VERO SYRIÆ LITTORE, CCIII MILLIBUS, ET A DAMASCO VIGINTI SEPTE



THORUMQUE, ET PRIMA IN DISCORDIA SEMPER UTRIMQUE CURA. ABEST A SELEUCIA PARTHORUM, M PROPIUS. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. V.

AFTER this general view (by which we found things rather exceed than fall ſhort of our expectations) we were conducted to one of the huts of the Arabs, of which there are about thirty in the court of the great temple. The contraſt between the magnificence of that building and the poverty of our lodging, was very ſtriking. The inhabitants, both men and women, were well ſhaped, and the latter, though very ſwarthy, had good features. They were veiled, but not ſo ſcrupulous of ſhewing their faces, as the eaſtern women generally are. They paint the ends of their fingers red, their lips blue, and their eye-brows and eye-laſhes black, and wore very large gold or braſs rings in their ears and noſes. They had the appearance of good health, and told us, that diſtempers of any ſort were uncommon among them.

We concluded from this, that the air of Palmyra deſerves the character which Longinus gives it, in his epiſtle to Porphyry. They have ſeldom rain, except at the equinoxes. Nothing could be more ſerene than the sky all the time we were there, except one afternoon, that there was a ſmall ſhower, preceded by a whirlwind, which took up ſuch quantities of ſand from the deſart, as quite darkened the sky, and gave us an idea of thoſe dreadful hurricanes which are ſometimes fatal to whole caravans.

We were tolerably well provided with mutton and goat's fleſh, by the Arab inhabitants; which, however, would have become very ſcarce, had we remained there longer than fifteen days, in which time we ſatisfied our curioſity.

P L A T E II.

A

GEOMETRICAL PLAN

OF THE

RUINED CITY OF PALMYRA.

PALMYRA is ſituated under a barren ridge of hills to the weſt, and open on its other ſides to the Deſart. It is about ſix days journey [a] from Aleppo, and as much from Damaſcus, [b] and about twenty leagues weſt of the Euphrates, in the latitude [c] of thirty four degrees, according to Ptolemy. Some geographers have placed it in Syria, others in Phœnicia, and ſome in Arabia.

The walls (43) of this city are flanked by ſquare towers, but ſo much deſtroyed, that in moſt places they are level with the ground, and often not to be diſtinguiſhed from the other rubbiſh. We could ſee no part of them to the ſouth-eaſt; but had great reaſon to think, from the direction of what we had traced, that they took in the great temple: if ſo, their circuit muſt have been at leaſt three Engliſh miles.

The Arabs ſhewed us ſome ground about the preſent ruins, which might be about ten miles in circumference, a little raiſed above the level of the Deſart, though not ſo much as the part of this plan within the walls. This, they ſaid, was the extent of the old city, and that by digging in any part of it, ruins were diſcovered. There appeared to us better reaſons for this opinion, than meerly their authority. Three miles was a ſmall compaſs for Palmyra in its proſperity, eſpecially as moſt of that ſpace is taken up by publick buildings, the extent of which, as well as the great number of magnificent ſepulchres, are evident proofs of a great city.

We therefore concluded, that the walls, which we have marked in this plan, incloſe only that part of Palmyra which its publick buildings occupied during its flouriſhing ſtate; and, that after its decay, the ſituation ſtill recommending it, as the propereſt place to ſtop the incurſions of the Saracens, Juſtinian fortified it, as we learn from Procopius, and moſt probably contracted its walls into a narrower compaſs. Palmyra, [d] was no longer a rich trading city, where he was obliged to attend to private convenience, but a frontier garriſon, where ſtrength alone was to be conſidered.

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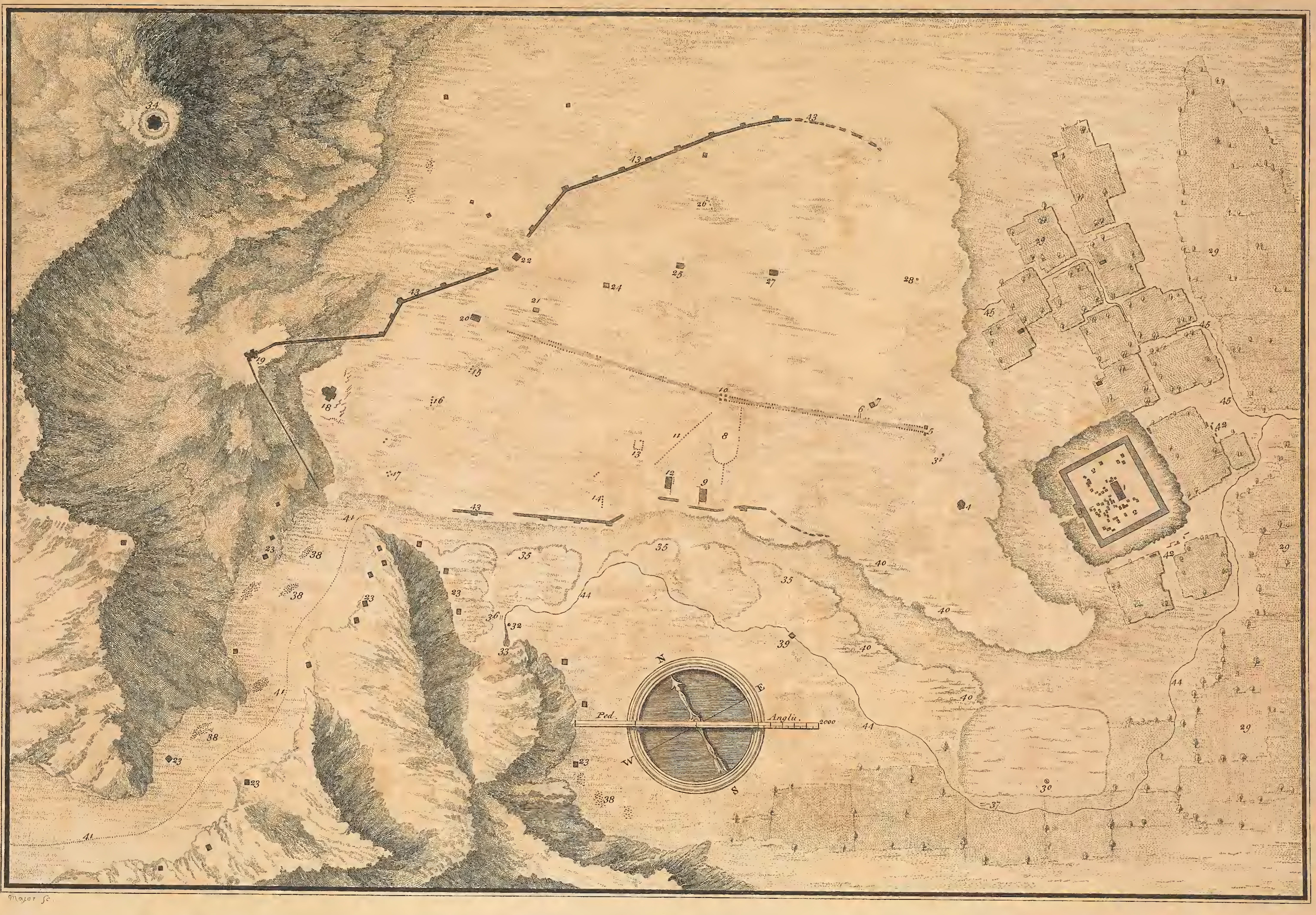
[a] Our day's journey was generally about eight leagues.

[b] There is a much ſhorter road from Damaſcus to Palmyra, but a more dangerous one.

[c] We found it inconvenient to bring a quadrant ſo long a journey by land, which prevented our taking its latitude.

[d] See page 13.

Beſides



Tab. II.

Major sc.

Besides that the manner, in which the wall is built, looks a good deal like the age we give it, another observation, which occurred to us on the spot, seems to strengthen the same opinion.

We found that in building this wall towards the north-west, they had taken the advantage of two or three sepulchral monuments, which answered so conveniently, both in shape and situation, that they converted them into flanking towers.

As we had no doubt, but the wall was posterior to the sepulchres, so we conclude that it was built, when the pagan religion no longer prevailed there. For it was not only contrary to the veneration, which the Greeks and Romans had for their places of burial, to apply them to any other use, especially to so dangerous a one, but it also breaks through a general rule which they observed, of having such places without the city walls. This [a] was ordered at Rome by a law of the twelve tables, and at Athens by a law of Solon; and we found it religiously observed all over the East.

We suppose then, that this wall (which for the foregoing reasons we call Justinian's) not only leaves out a great deal of the antient city, particularly to the south-east, but also takes in something more than belonged to it, to the north and north-west. That part of the wall, which has no towers, as well as the ruinous building, (19) has been added long after the rest, and is built something in the manner of the castle, of which afterwards.

Upon the top of one of the highest of those hills, north-west of the ruins, is a castle (34) to which there is a very rude and steep ascent. It is enclosed by a deep ditch, cut out, or rather quarried out, of the rock, which we passed with some difficulty, as the draw-bridge is broke down. In the castle is a very deep hole cut in the rock, which though now dry, looks as if intended for a well.

The building of this castle is so very bad, that it is not only evidently posterior to Justinian, to whom some ascribe it, but unworthy of the Mamalukes.

The English merchants, who visited this place in 1691, were informed it was built by Man Ogle, a prince of the Druses, in the reign of Amurath [b] the third. We were told by the Arabs, that it was the work of a son of the famous Feccardine, who, while his father was in Europe, built this for a retreat. Neither of these accounts are at all agreeable to the history of the Druses.

This hill, on which the castle is built, is one of the highest about Palmyra. It commands a most extensive prospect of the Desart towards the south, which, from this height, looks like the sea; and westward we could

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[a] The Romans in the earlier times of their common wealth, dispensed with this law, only as a particular compliment to merit; though afterwards the same compliment was paid to power; but the Athenians refused to let Marcellus be buried within their walls, and told Sulpitius, when he asked that favour, *Religione se impediri.* Vid. Cicer. Epist. ad Famil. lib. iv. It is true the Lacedæmonians differed, in this, from the other Greeks; and Lycurgus (who took all occasions to inculcate a contempt of death) appointed the most publick streets for burying places, to make such objects familiar to the Spartan youth.

[b] Anno Christi 1585.

ſee the top of Libanus, and take very diſtinctly the bearings of ſome part of Antilibanus, which we had obſerved at Haſſia.

To the eaſt and ſouth of the temple of the ſun are a few olive-trees and corn intermixed, defended from the cattle by mud walls. This might be made a very agreeable ſpot, by a proper diſtribution of two ſtreams, which are now entirely neglected by the Arabs.

They are both of hot ſulphureous water, which, however, the inhabitants find wholeſome and not diſagreeable. The moſt conſiderable (44) riſes weſtward of the ruins, from a beautiful grotto, (33) at the foot of the mountains, almoſt high enough in the middle to admit us ſtanding upright. The whole bottom is a baſon of very clear water, of about two feet deep: the heat thus confined makes it an excellent bath, for which purpoſe the Arabs uſe it; and the ſtream which runs from it in a pretty ſmart current is about a foot deep, and more than three feet over, confined in ſome places by an old paved channel, but after a very ſhort courſe ſoaked up in the ſand eaſtward of the ruins. The inhabitants told us, this grotto had always the ſame quantity of water, and that though we could ſee but about a dozen paces into it, yet it extended much farther. While Palmyra flouriſhed, this beautiful ſource muſt, no doubt, have been of great value. We learned from an inſcription cloſe by it, upon an altar dedicated to Jupiter, that it was called Ephca, and that the care of it was committed to perſons who held that office by election.

The other ſtream, (45) whoſe ſource we could not ſee, contains near the ſame quantity of water, and runs through the ruins in an antient aqueduct under ground near the long portico, and in the ſame direction; it joins the firſt to the eaſt of the ruins, and is loſt with it in the ſand. The Arabs told us, there was a third ſtream, not quite ſo conſiderable as theſe two, and conveyed in an aqueduct under ground through the ruins, as the laſt, but that its paſſage was ſo broke and choaked up with rubbiſh, that it had not appeared for ſome time. We were the more inquiſitive about theſe ſtreams, as the little notice the merchants from Aleppo have taken of them, has puzzled ſome perſons to account for the loſs of the river mentioned by Ptolemy, which they attribute to an earthquake. There ſeems no reaſon to ſuppoſe the water of Palmyra has ſuffered any alteration but that which negligence has produced. If the Engliſh merchants thought thoſe ſtreams too contemptible to deſerve the name of a river, they ſhould for the ſame reaſon have denied that honour to the Pactolus, the Meles, and ſeveral rivers of Greece, which do not contain ſo much water, except immediately after rains.

Beſides thoſe ſulphureous ſtreams, there has been a large quantity of well-taſted water conveyed formerly to the town by an aqueduct, which we have already taken notice of, page 35. It is built under ground in a very ſolid manner, * with openings at the top, at certain diſtances, to keep it clean. It is now broke about half a league from the town, the general opinion of the Arabs is, that this aqueduct extends to the mountains near Damaſcus. There ſeems not the leaſt foundation for ſuch an opinion, as there is plenty of good water at Carietein, between Palmyra and Damaſcus. Procopius tells us, that Juſtinian brought water to the garriſon he left here; which we imagine he did, rather by repairing than building this aqueduct, which ſeems an expenſive work and of greater antiquity. Palmyra in its proſperity would certainly

* See Plate XXVII.

tainly not have wanted ſuch a convenience; and in more than one place we ſaw the Palmyrene characters on it, too much decayed to copy, but could find no inſcription in any other language.

About three or four miles to the ſouth-eaſt of the ruins, in the Deſart, is the Valley of Salt, (ſuppoſed to be the place where David ſmote the Syrians 2 Sam. viii. 13.) which now ſupplies, in a great meaſure, Damaſcus and the neighbouring towns, with that commodity. We went to ſee it, and found they had hollowed the ground in ſeveral places deep enough to receive a foot, or more of the rain-water, which, when once lodged, covers the part ſo hollowed with a fine white ſalt. Where-ever we could thruſt the Arabs pikes into the ground, we found it was impregnated with ſalt to a conſiderable depth.

For other particulars in this plan we refer to the following explication. Nothing leſs entire than a column ſtanding, with at leaſt its capital, is marked. Almoſt the whole ground within the walls is covered with heaps of marble; but to have diſtinguiſhed ſuch imperfect ruins would have introduced confuſion to no purpoſe.

1. Temple of the ſun.
2. Its court, with the huts of the Arabs.
3. Its portico.
4. A Turkiſh moſque.
5. An arch.
6. Four granite columns.
7. Peryſtile of a ruined temple.
8. Columns diſpoſed in the form of a circus.
9. Cell of a temple.
10. Four pedeſtals.
11. Row of columns which ſtand alone.
12. The cell of a temple and part of its peryſtile.
13. Seems to have been the peryſtile of a temple.
14, 15, 16, 17. Have been all diſtinct buildings, but are ſo much ruined, that we could not even gueſs at their plan.
18. Diocleſian's building.
19. Ruins of a Turkiſh fortification.
20, 21, 22. Sepulchral monuments.
23. Sepulchres of many ſtories, all without the city walls.
24. Probably a ruined temple.
25. Ruins of a chriſtian church.
26. Four columns.
27. Little temple.
28. Great column ſtanding alone.
29. Cultivated ground.
30. Great column, from which the inſcription number XXI was copied.
31. Great column.
32. Altar, from which the Greek inſcription, number VI, was copied.
33. The fountain Ephca.
34. Turkiſh caſtle.
35. Ground raiſed by ruins, between which and the wall has been a ditch now almoſt filled up.
36. Confuſed ruins, near the fountain.
37. A ruined building, near the ſtream (44).
38. Sepulchral monuments, reduced to meer rubbiſh.
39. A water-mill, where the Arabs grind their corn.
40. Arab burying-ground.
41. Our road to Palmyra, through the vale of the ſepulchres.
42. Indiſtinct ruins of large buildings, near the temple of the ſun.
43. Remains of Juſtinian's wall.
44. The largeſt ſtream.
45. The leſſer, which runs through the ruins, and joins the firſt to the eaſt of the temple of the ſun.

PLATE III.

The plan of the temple of the ſun, and of its court.

* See plate XVIII and XIX.

From the greatneſs of this building, as well as from ſome of its ornaments, * we conclude it is the temple of the ſun, which was damaged by the Roman ſoldiers, when Aurelian took the town, and for the repairs of which he ordered ſo much money, in his letter to Ceionius Baſſus †.

† See page 13.

The ſolidity and height of the wall of its court tempted the Turks to convert it into a place of ſtrength; for this purpoſe, they ſtopped up the windows to the north, eaſt and ſouth, and made a ditch before it to the weſt, where they deſtroyed the portico of the grand entrance to build in its place a ſquare ‡ tower to flank that ſide.

‡ See the letter B. plate I.

The court is paved with broad ſtones, but ſo covered with rubbiſh that we could ſee the pavement but in few places. That part of it which is incloſed by lines, in this plan, to the north-weſt, and ſouth-weſt angle is ſunk ſixteen § feet lower than the reſt of the pavement, to what purpoſe we could not gueſs. It is ſo covered with rubbiſh that we could not diſcover any ſtairs by which it might have communicated with the reſt of the court.

§ See plate XIV and XXI.

The parts of this plan which are marked black, ſhew what is ſtill ſtanding, but the ruined part is marked by an out-line only. Every thing elſe may be underſtood by the meaſures, without further explication, which we ſhall always avoid where it is not abſolutely neceſſary, and leave it entirely to the reader to make his own remarks upon the architecture.

N. B. All the ſcales in this work are of Engliſh feet and inches.

PLATE IV.

Upright of the grand entrance to the court of the temple.

It has been ** obſerved that this portico was deſtroyed by the Turks; the pediment is here reſtored, without any authority, but the columns and their particular diſtribution, are copied from the internal portico ††.

** See explication of the foregoing plate.

†† See plate III and XIV.

PLATE V.

Baſe, capital and entablature of the pilaſter, in the foregoing plate.

This order is continued quite round the court of the temple, on the outſide. All the baſes at Palmyra are Attick.

PLATE VI.

Ornaments of the inſide of the portico ‡‡ of the grand entrance.

‡‡ See plate IV.

The wall which divides this portico from that of the court of the temple, is almoſt perfectly entire, and the ornaments of the doors and niches very little defaced.

PLATE

A. Niche for a ſtatue.
B. Superior tabernacle for a ſtatue.
C. Inferior tabernacle.
D. Side-door and plan of its ſoffit.

PLATE VII.

Upright of the great door of the court of the temple.

The ornaments of this door are finifhed in the higheft manner, and notwithftand its great fize, each of the fide-architraves are of one piece of marble; the foffit is the only part of it too much damaged to admit of a drawing, but we could difcover that it has been richly ornamented in the fame manner with the foffit of the fmall door, in the following plate.

A. Profile of the cornifh.
B. External profile of the fcroll.
C. Internal profile of the fcroll.
D. Section of the freeze and architrave.
E. F. Projection of the fide-architrave from the wall.
G. Plan of the fcroll.
H. Projection of the mouldings of the cornice under the modillions.
I. Projection of the freeze.
K. Projection of the architrave.

PLATE VIII.

Ornaments of the foregoing door at large, with the foffit of the fmall doors.

A. The fide-architrave.
B. The freeze.
C. The fcroll.
D. Soffit of the fide door. *

* See the following plate.

PLATE IX.

Upright of the fide door, of which the foffit has been fhewn in the foregoing plate, and of the niches and tabernacles for ftatues.

PLATE X.

Ornaments of the tabernacles for ftatues in plate VI. at large.

B. Superior projecting entablature. (b)
C. Inferior projecting entablature. (b)
D. Soffit of the firft.
E. Projection of its mouldings, which are under the modillions.
F. Projection of its mouldings, which are under the modillions.
G. Soffit of the fecond.
H. Projection of its moulding, which are under the modillions.
I. Projection of its mouldings, which are above the modillions.
K. Section of the architrave of both, to fhew the depth of the foffit.

(b) See the fame letters in plate VI.

PLATE XI.

Ornaments * of the infide of the portico of the court of the temple.

The three larger doors are the fame here as in plate VII and IX.

A. Small door; two of thofe lead to ftairs in the wall which divides the portico of the grand entrance from that of the court, the other two are falfe doors.
B. Projecting pediment and entablature, under which was a ftatue.
C. Projecting bafe which fupported the ftatue.
D. Door, which fee in plate IX.
E. Pediment of the niche over the door.
F. Niche.
G. Its pilafter.

* See the plan, plate VI.

PLATE XII.

* See A, plate XI.

A. The ſmall door. *

B. The window of the court of the temple, to the north-eaſt and ſouth. Its ornaments are the ſame without and within the court.

PLATE XIII.

Ornaments of the tabernacles for ſtatues, in plate XI, at large.

† See the ſame in plate XI.

‡ See C, plate XI.

A. Flower upon the angles of the pediment.

B. Entablature. †

C. Its ſoffit, with a plan of the modillions.

D. Projecting baſe. ‡

E. Soffit of the baſe.

F. Section of the baſe.

G. Section of the architrave of the entablature B, to ſhew the depth of the ſoffit.

PLATE XIV.

Upright of the portico within the court of the temple.

§ See plate III.

The pediment here, as well as in plate IV, is reſtored by gueſs, there being no remains of it; the weſt ſide of thoſe ſpaces, which § are ſunk ſixteen feet lower than the reſt of the pavement, forms a ſubaſſement to the columns; thoſe projections from the ſhafts of the columns were undoubtedly intended to ſupport ſtatues, the irons ſtill remain in ſome of them, by which the ſtatues were faſtened; and on ſome the marks of the feet are ſtill ſeen. All thoſe ſtatues were probably deſtroyed or carried away when Aurelian took the town, for we could not diſcover even a fragment of one at Palmyra.

PLATE XV.

** See the ſoffit of the corniſh, plate XVIII.

Capital and entablature ** of the order in the foregoing plate, with the plan of the capital.

Both the freeze and capital has ſuffered a good deal, which is not ſurpriſing, if we conſider the delicacy of the work, finiſhed in as high a manner as marble is capable of.

PLATE XVI.

Plan of the temple and its peryſtile.

†† See plate XIX.

‡‡ See K, plate XVIII.

The ſteps are ſo much deſtroyed that we could only gueſs at their number. We could diſcover no repairs which might account for their ſingularities in this plan. The ornaments belonging to thoſe diviſions within the cell are ſo choaked up with Turkiſh buildings that we could only copy the ſoffits †† of A and B, and a baſſo relievo from an architrave. ‡‡

PLATE XVII.

Upright of the temple.

A. Pilaſter joined to the column, which ſupports the ſcroll of the door.

B. Singularity in the manner of fluting the columns.

C. Pannel between the capitals over the door.

D. The bell of the capital only remains, with holes in it, by which the leaves, &c. were faſtened; which were no doubt of metal, and have been taken away for the value of the materials.

E. The architrave of the cell.

F. The freeze of the cell.

There

There ſeemed nothing either in the door which is here placed in ſo ſingular a manner between two columns, or in the door of the cell of the temple, worth being deſcribed more at large, except the ſoffit of the latter, which ſee in the following plate.

PLATE XVIII.

A. The ſoffit of the corniſh, in plate XV.
B. A ſquare pannel which incloſes
C. The roſe.
D. Diſtance between the modillions.
E. The modillions.
F. Soffit of the architrave in plate XV.
G. Its ornament.
H. Soffit of the door of the cell of the temple.
I. Freeze, of plate XVII, at large.
K. Bas relief of the face of an architrave belonging to one of the diviſions within the cell. It is not to be meaſured by the ſcale.

PLATE XIX.

Two ſoffits, of one piece of marble each.

A. B. Mark the places in plate XVI, to which thoſe ſoffits belong.

PLATE XX.

A. Window of the temple on the ſide of the peryſtile.
B. The ſame window ſeen from within the cell.

PLATE XXI.

View of the temple of the ſun, taken from the north-weſt corner of the court.

A. the temple.
B. Two ionick half columns at each end of the cell of the temple. We could not get up to their capitals to take the meaſures of them.
C. The hutts of the Arabs.
D. Part lower than the reſt of the pavement * of the court of the temple.
E. The portico of the court of the temple.

* See plate III.

PLATE XXII.

Plan and Upright of the eaſt-ſide of the arch marked H in plate I.

A. Suppoſed pediment.
B. Middle archivolt.
C. Its impoſt.
D. Side archivolt.
E. Its impoſt.
F. Baſſo relievo † of the pilaſter.
G. Baſſo relievo of the pilaſter under the impoſt of the middle arch.
H. Baſſo relievo of the pilaſter under the impoſt of the ſide arch.
I. Niche.
K. In the plan. Projection of the capital of the pilaſter upon which the colonades of the portico terminate on the weſt ſide of this arch. §

† See the ſame letter in the following plate.
§ See letter I, in plate XXIV.

PLATE XXIII.

Pilaſter of the foregoing arch, with its capital and entablature.

A. Angular modillion.
F. Baſſo ‡ relievo of the pilaſter at large.

‡ See the ſame in the foregoing plate.

PLATE XXIV.

A. Plan of the angular modillion in the laſt plate, with the ſoffit of the cornice.
B. Middle archivolt, at large.
C. Its impoſt.
D. Side archivolt, at large.
E. Its impoſt.
F. This letter refers to the foregoing plate.
G. Baſſo relievo of the pilaſter, under the impoſt of the middle arch, at large.
H. Baſſo relievo, of the pilaſter, under the impoſt of the ſide arch, at large.
I. Baſſo relievo of the pilaſter on the weſt ſide of the arch, whoſe projection is marked K, in the plan of plate XXII.
K. Soffit of the middle arch.
L. Scroll and capital of the pilaſter of which the baſſo relievo is marked I, in this plate.
M. Profile of the ſame.

N. B. aa, bb, cc. are meaſured by the ſmall ſcale.

PLATE XXV.

Plan and Upright of the weſt ſide of the arch, in plate XXII.

The three foregoing plates explain this. The pilaſter, with its ornaments, marked I, L, M. in the foregoing plate, is covered in this by the columns of the portico, which terminates upon this ſide of the arch.

PLATE XXVI.

View of the arch from the eaſt.

A. Great arch in its preſent ſtate.
B. One ſide of the long portico, which terminates upon the arch.
C. Part of the long portico, terminating upon the ſepulchre. * Both the part marked by this and the following letter are a little miſplaced, by a miſtake in finiſhing the drawing.
D. Sepulchre. *
E. Temple marked M in plate I.
F. Building marked 12, in plate II.

* See plate XXXVI.

PLATE XXVII.

Plan of the ſmall temple, marked M in plate I. with the plan and ſections of an aqueduct mentioned page 35.

A. Plan of the aqueduct.
B. Plan of the openings, by means of which it was kept in order.
C. Steps down to the water.
D. A tranſverſe ſection of it.
E. A longitudinal ſection of it.
F. Its ſoffit, of one ſtone in breadth.
G. Height of the earth over the aqueduct.

PLATE XXVIII.

Upright of the front and flank of the temple of which the plan is in the foregoing plate.

A. Suppoſed pediment.
B. Pedeſtal for ſtatues, projecting from the ſhaft of the column.
C. Suppoſed roof.
D. Profile of the projecting pedeſtals for ſtatues.

PLATE XXIX.

The baſe, capital, and entablature of the foregoing Temple:

See the ſoffit of this cornice, plate XXXII.

PLATE XXX.

The windows of the ſame temple.

A. Window within the cell.

B. The ſame window without.

PLATE XXXI.

View of the ſame temple.

A. Its preſent remains.
B. Part of the long portico.

C. Sepulchres marked a, plate I.

PLATE XXXII.

Plan and Upright of the pedeſtals marked O, in plate I.

A. Square entablature, ſupported by four columns.
B. Pedeſtal for a ſtatue.
C. Double plinth.

D. Plan of the four columns, of their ſubaſſement and of the pedeſtal in the middle.
E. Soffit of the cornice of plate XXIX. To be meaſured by the ſcale in that plate.

PLATE XXXIII.

The baſe, capital and entablature belonging to the foregoing columns.

PLATE XXXIV.

A. Soffit of the foregoing cornice and architrave.
B. Soffit ſupported by the four columns. *
C. Section of the ſame.

D. Freeze of the ſame. Its architrave is the ſame with that on the outſide. †

* See plate XXXII.

† See plate XXXIII.

PLATE XXXV.

View of the arch from the weſt.

A. The temple of the ſun.
B. The great column, marked G in plate I.
C. The arch.
D. One ſide of the long portico.

E. The building marked I, in plate I.
F. Piece of a column put up here by the Turks, to what purpoſe we could not learn.

PLATE XXXVI.

Plan of the ſepulchre, marked W in plate I.

A. Repoſitories for the dead, fronting the door.
B. Repoſitory ſeparate from the reſt, with four broken columns of a larger order than that of the ſides.

C. Angular repoſitories.
D. Repoſitories on each ſide.
E. Portico.

PLATE XXXVII.

Upright of the ſame with one of the ſoffits of the repoſitories.

A. Pediment.

B. Soffit of a repoſitory, of one piece of marble.

PLATE XXXVIII.

Baſe, capital, and entablature of the foregoing ſepulchre, without. See the ſoffit of the cornice, plate XLI.

PLATE XXXIX.

Section of the ſame.

A. Section of the wall above the door.
B. Flank of the door.
C. Space from the ſide order to the ſoffit.
D. Repoſitories.
E. Subaſſement.

F. Soffit of one piece of marble, which forms the profile of the cornice.
G. Flank of the repoſitories.
H. Floor of the repoſitories.
I. Space in which there were ſepulchral urns.

PLATE XL.

Baſe, capital, and entablature of the order of the foregoing ſepulchre, within.

PLATE XLI.

A. Soffit of the corniſh * without.
B. Soffit of the architrave without.

C, D. Two ſoffits of repoſitories. †

* See plate XXXVIII.
† See plate XXXVI.

PLATE XLII.

Three ſoffits of repoſitories.

A, and B. Belong to the foregoing ſepulchre.

C. Belongs to the ruined ſepulchre marked T, in plate I.

PLATE XLIII.

View of ſome of the ruins deſcribed.

A. Temple of the ſun.
B. Column marked G, in plate I.
C. The arch.
D. The long portico.

E. The little temple, marked M, in plate I.
F. Great column ſtanding ſingle, from the ſhaft of which we copied the third Greek inſcription.
G. Building marked I, in plate I.

PLATE XLIV.

Plan of a building, upon an architrave of which we found the twenty ſeventh inſcription.

A. Body of the building.
B. Veſtibule.

C. Portico in front.
D. Portico on each ſide.

PLATE

PLATE XLV.

Upright of the ſame building.

A. Suppoſed pediment.
B. Door.
C. Niche.
D. Falſe door.
E. Socle.

PLATE XLVI.

Baſe, capital and entablature of the foregoing plate.

See the ſoffit of the cornice, plate LV.

PLATE XLVII.

Ornaments of the inſide of the portico, in front.

B. Great door. C. Niche. D. Falſe door.

PLATE XLVIII.

Ornaments of the great door * at large.

* See plate XLVII.

A. External profile of the Scroll.
B. Baſſo relievo at large, of the Cavetto marked B in the plan.

PLATE XLIX.

The falſe door † at large.

† See D, plate XLVII.

PLATE L.

The Niche ‡ at large.

‡ See C, plate XLVII.

PLATE LI.

A. Pilaſter § of the portico in front.
B. Baſſo relievo of the flank of the great door.
C. Section of the niche. **
D. Section of the falſe door. ††
E. Section of the projection under the niche.
F. Baſſo relievo of the arched ſoffit of the niche. ‡‡
G. Soffit of the projection under the niche.

§ See plate XLVII.
** See plate L.
†† See plate XLIX.
‡‡ See letter C.

PLATE LII.

View of the building laſt deſcribed.

A. Caſtle on the hill, marked Z, in plate I.
B. Part of the preſent remains of the building laſt deſcribed, which looks like the tribunal of a Baſilica.
C. Door of a building quite deſtroyed.

PLATE LIII.

Plan and Upright of the ſepulchre, marked y, in plate I.

A. Upright.
B. Mouldings, which run round it.
C. Its plan.

PLATE LIV.

Baſe, capital, and entablature of the pilaſter, of the foregoing ſepulchre.

B. Mouldings at large, which are marked with the ſame letter, in the laſt plate.

PLATE LV.

A. Plan of one of the ſepulchres marked a, in plate I, with the ſoffit of the firſt ſtory.

B. Soffit of the cornice in plate XLVI. To be meaſured by the ſcale of that plate.

PLATE LVI.

Upright of the ſame.

A. Window, under which is a figure in alto relievo, lying by a ſarcophagus.

B. Door.

PLATE LVII.

Front and flank of the inſide of the firſt ſtory of the ſame ſepulchre.

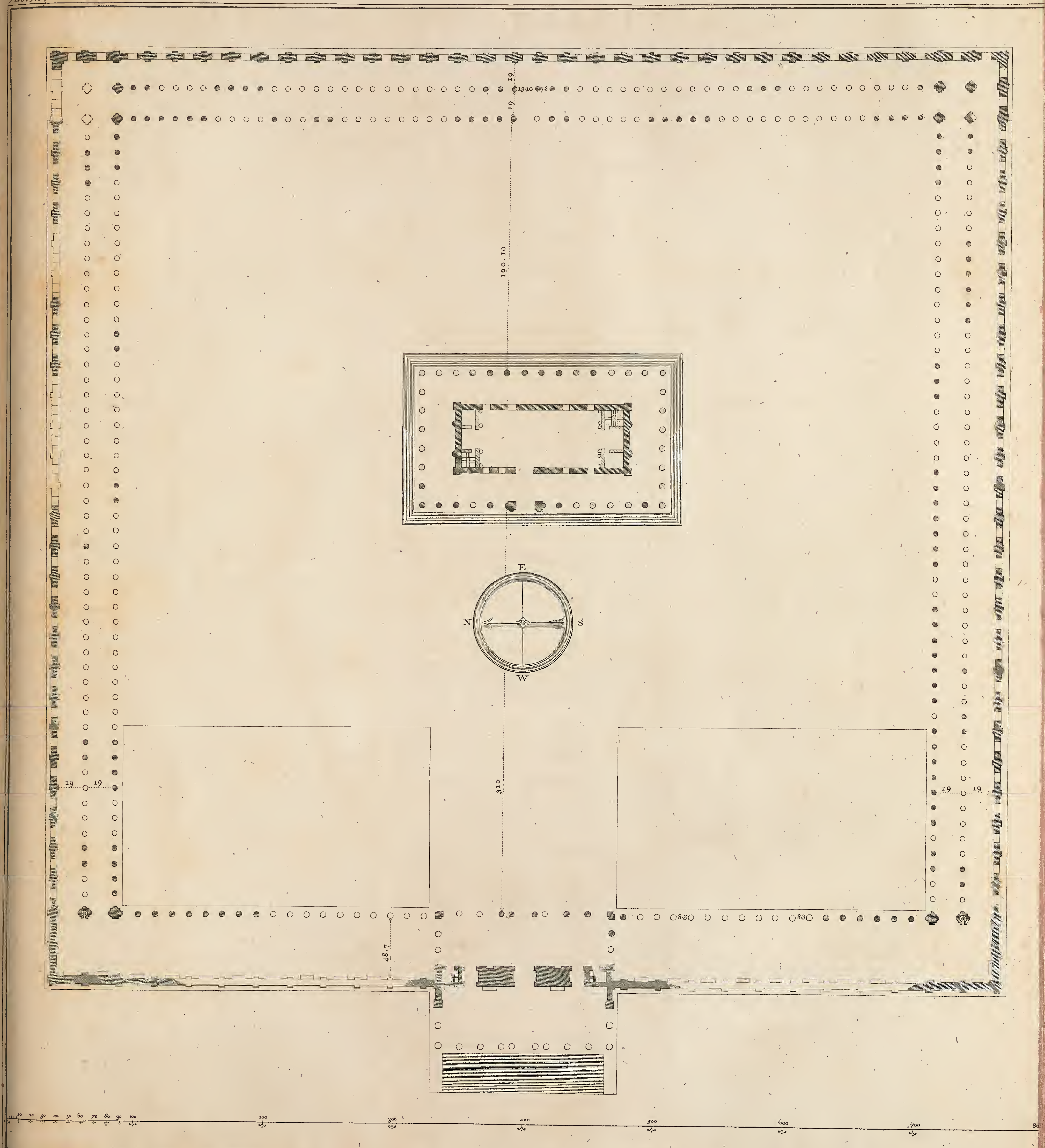
A. The flank.
B. Repoſitories for bodies.
C. Pilaſter.
D. Section of the door.
E. Front oppoſite to the door, where there is a figure in alto relievo, and under it two ſarcophagi, with heads on them in mezzo relievo.
F. Here are ſome Palmyrene inſcriptions, of which we copied two. See Palmyrene inſcription XI, and XII.
G. Repoſitories for bodies.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

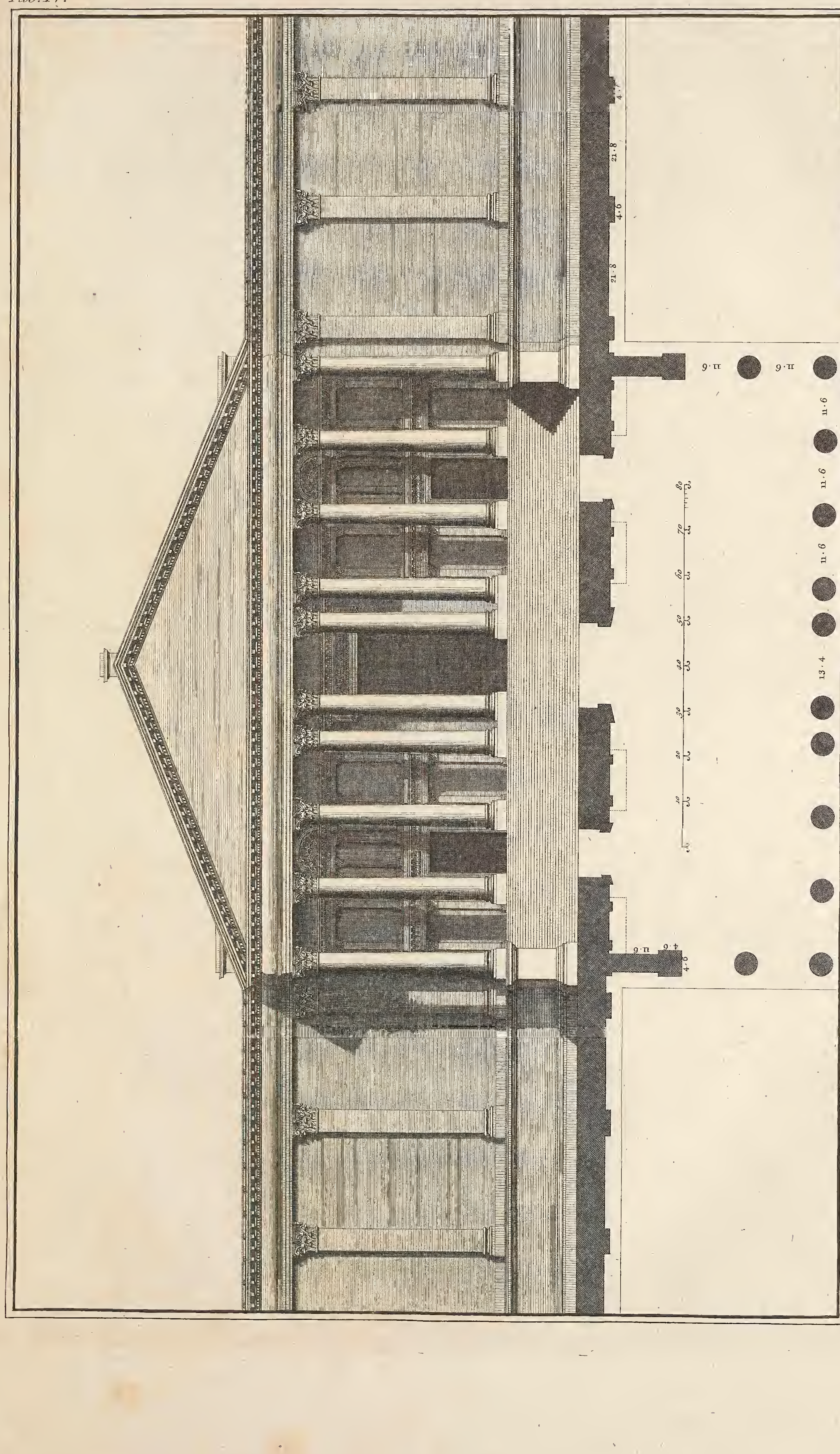
Page 7. l. 28. for *Herencanius*, read *Herenianus*. In the ſame page, note c, for *Vabellathus*, read *Vaballathus*. Page 22. the laſt note to be read *c*, not *b*. Page 26. line 21. for *the reaſon why*, read *the reaſons why*. Page 43. in the explication of plate VII, read *cornice* for *corniſh*. In the ſame page, plate X. F, *projection of its mouldings which are under*, read for *under*, *above*. Page 44. In the explication of plate XVI, for *their ſingularities*, read *the ſingularities*.

Tab: III.



Borra Arch.tus Del. *P. Fourdrinier Sculp.*

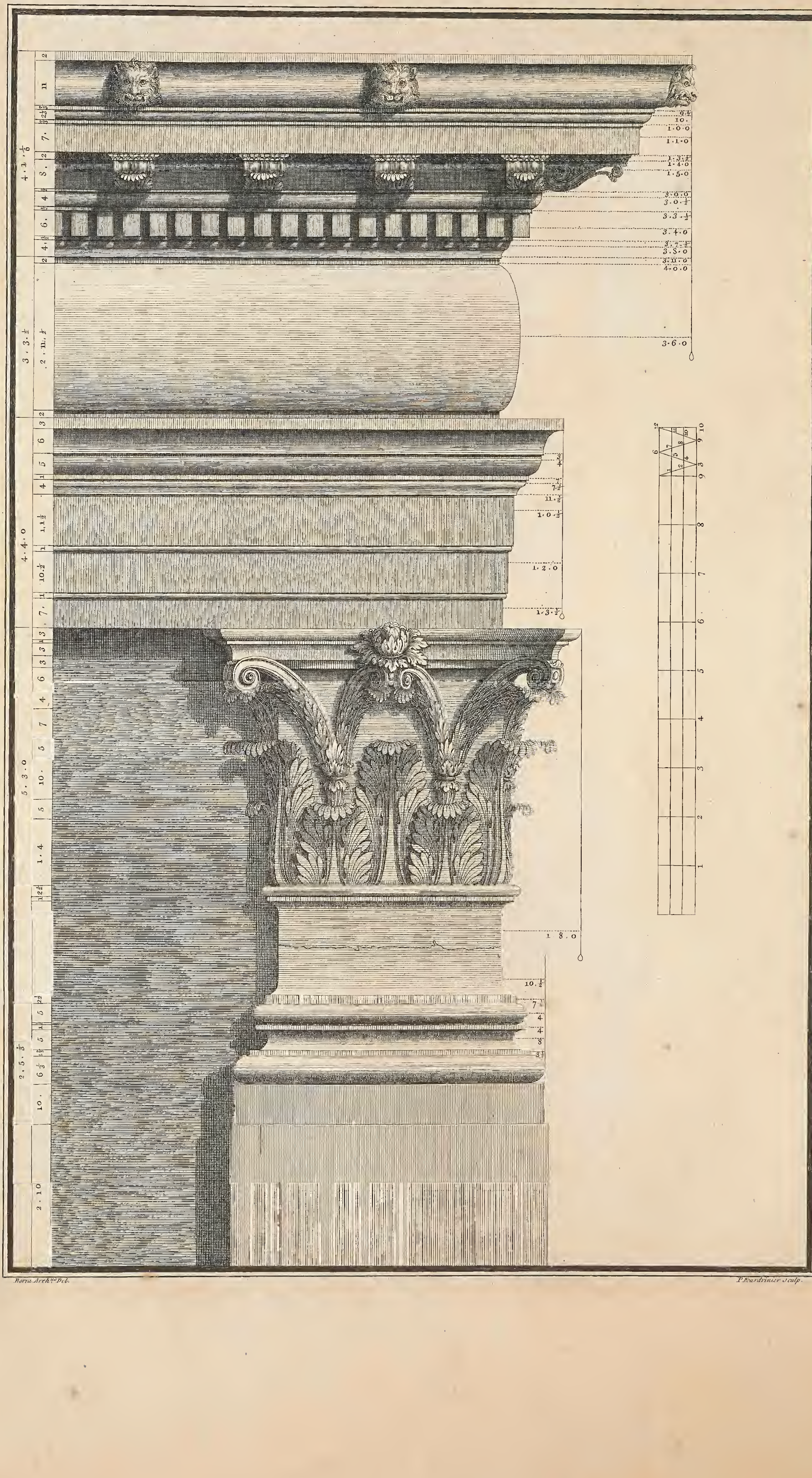
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P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Borra Archᵗ Delᵗ

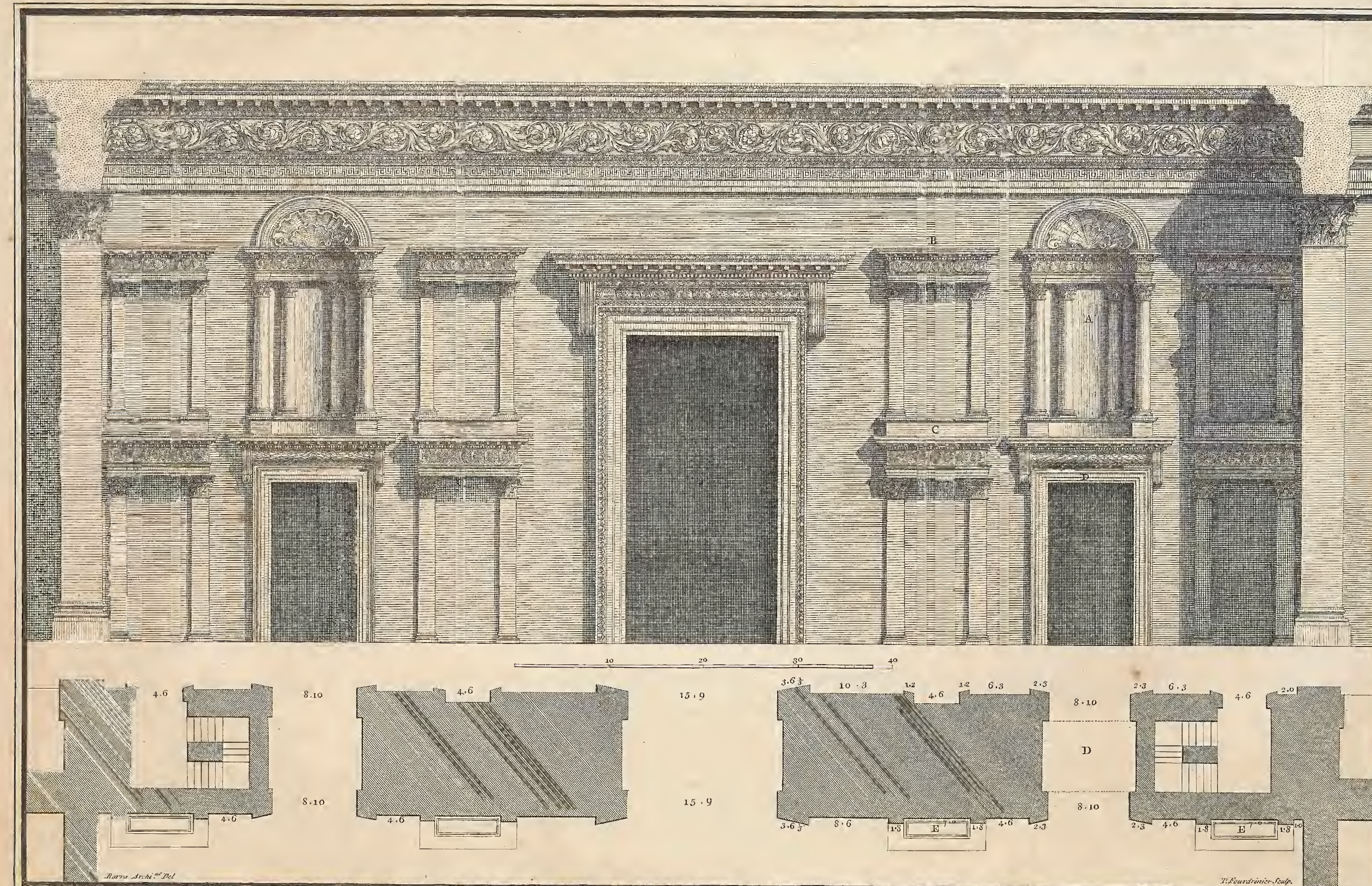
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Borra Archᵗᵒ Del.

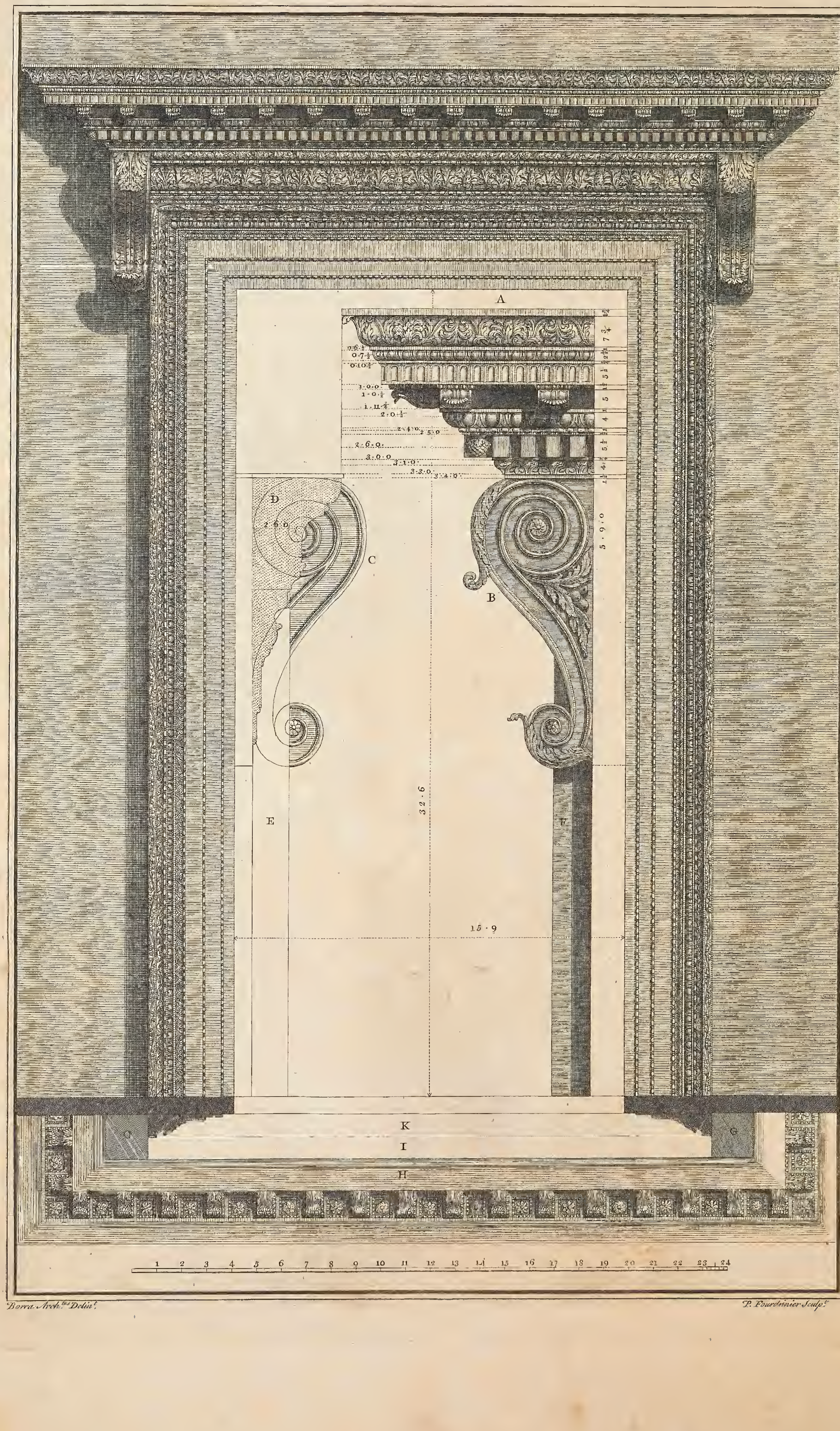
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

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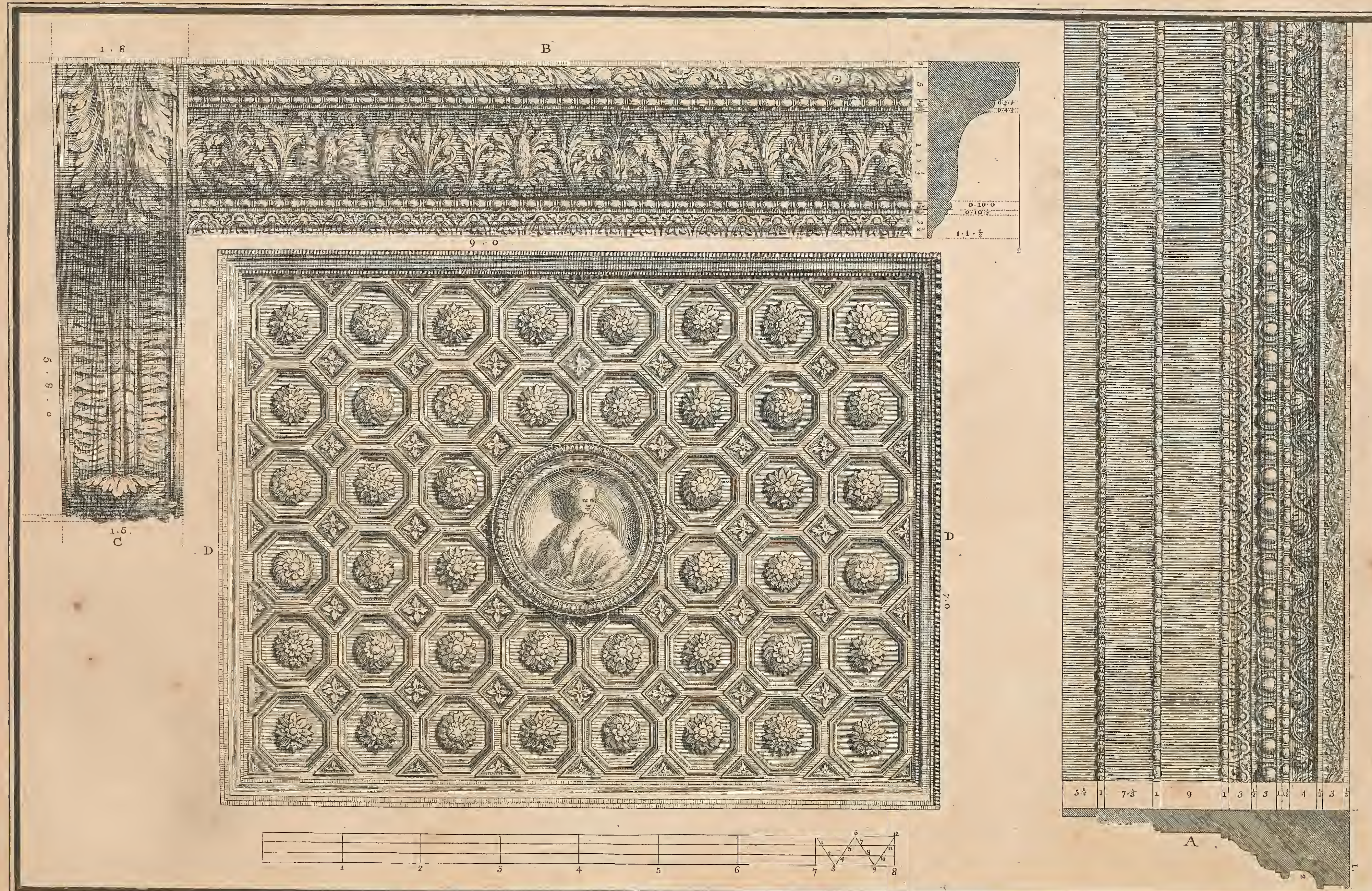
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C
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20
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40
4.6
8.10
15.9
3.6 ½
10 . 3
1.2
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T. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab: VII.



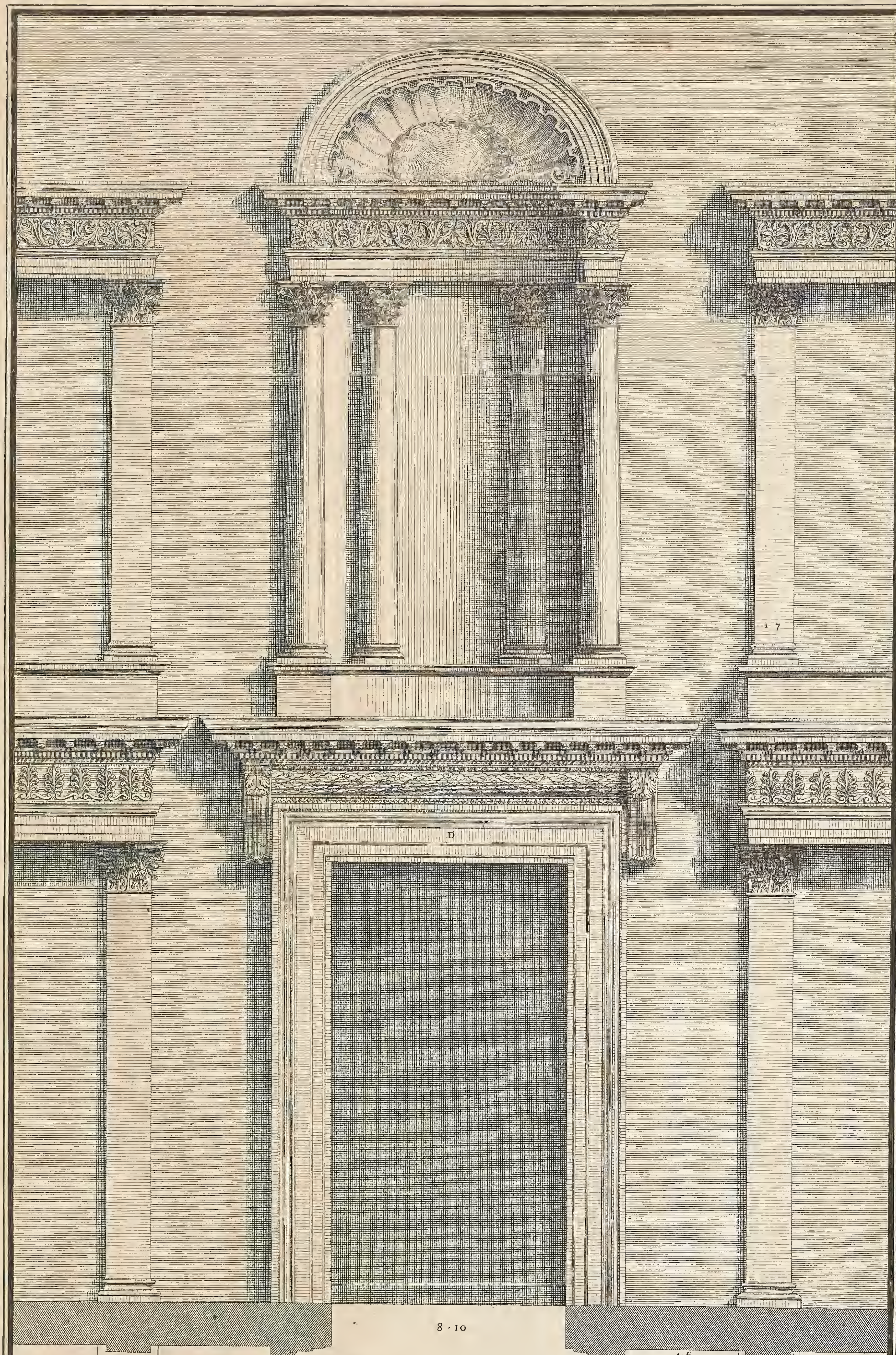
Borra Archit.us Delin.t

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.t

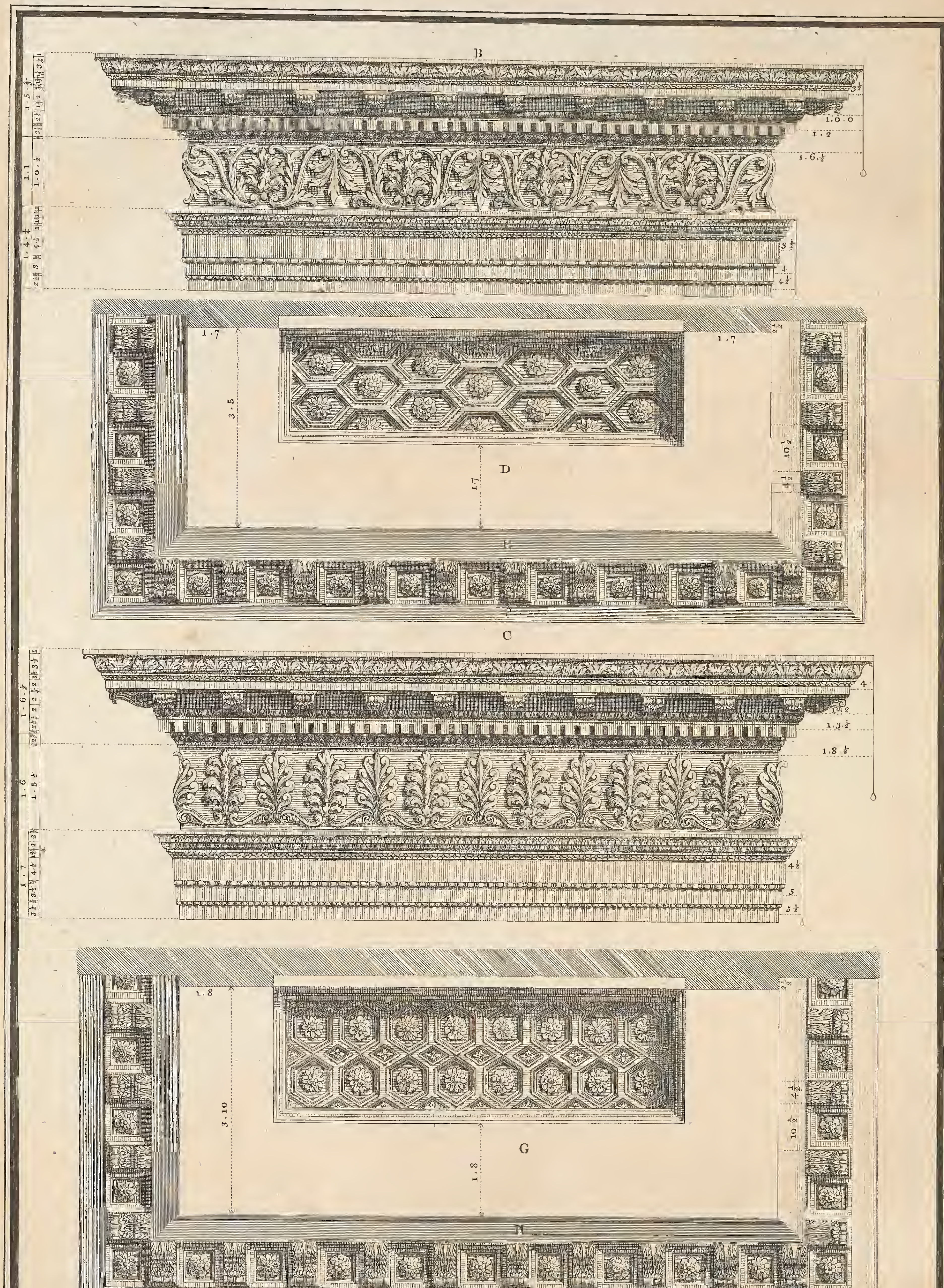


Borra Archit. Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.


D
1·7
8·10
2·3
0·7
4·6
1·8
0·24
4
8
12
16
Borra Arch.tus Del.
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

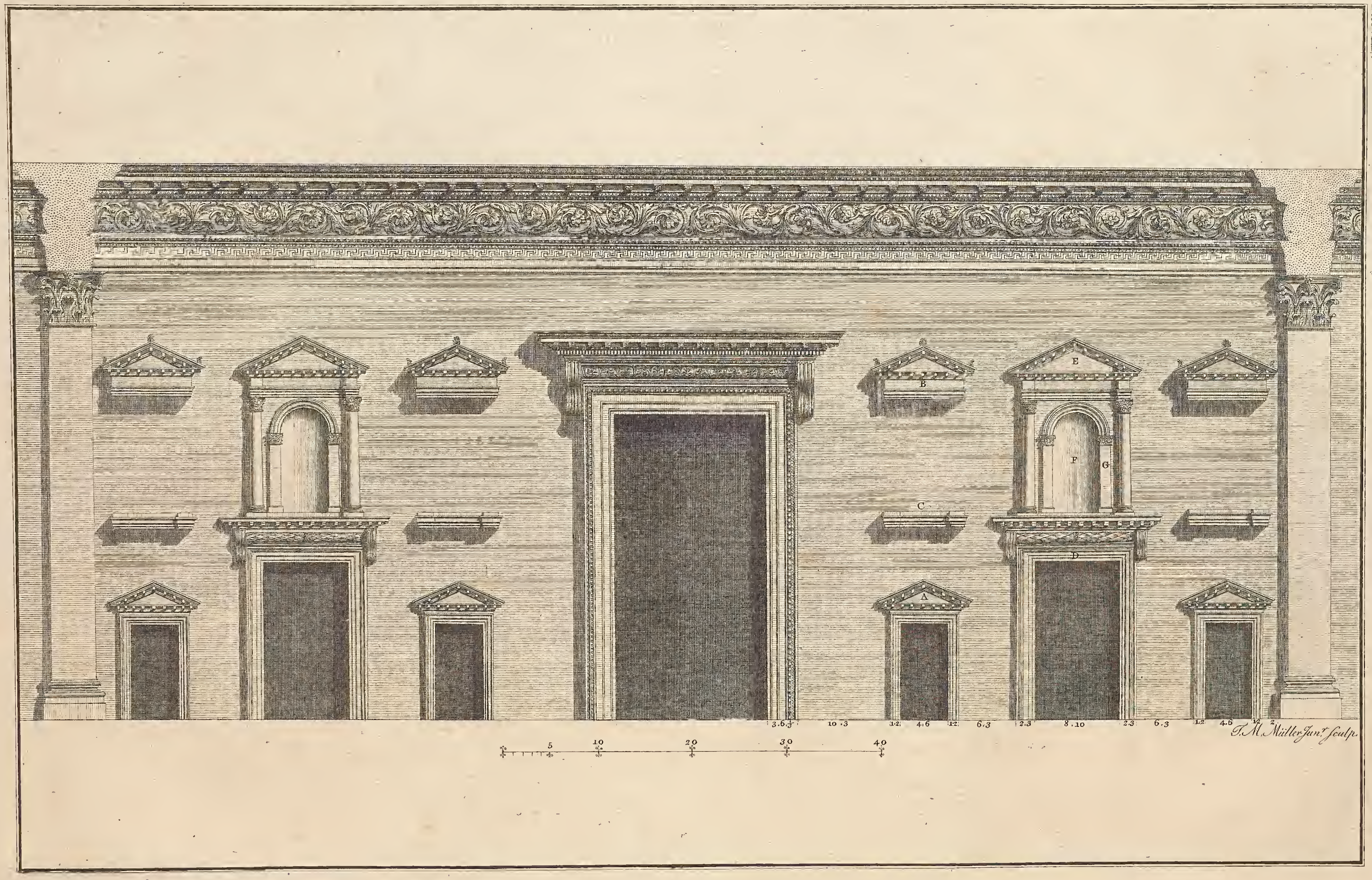
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Borra Archt. Del.

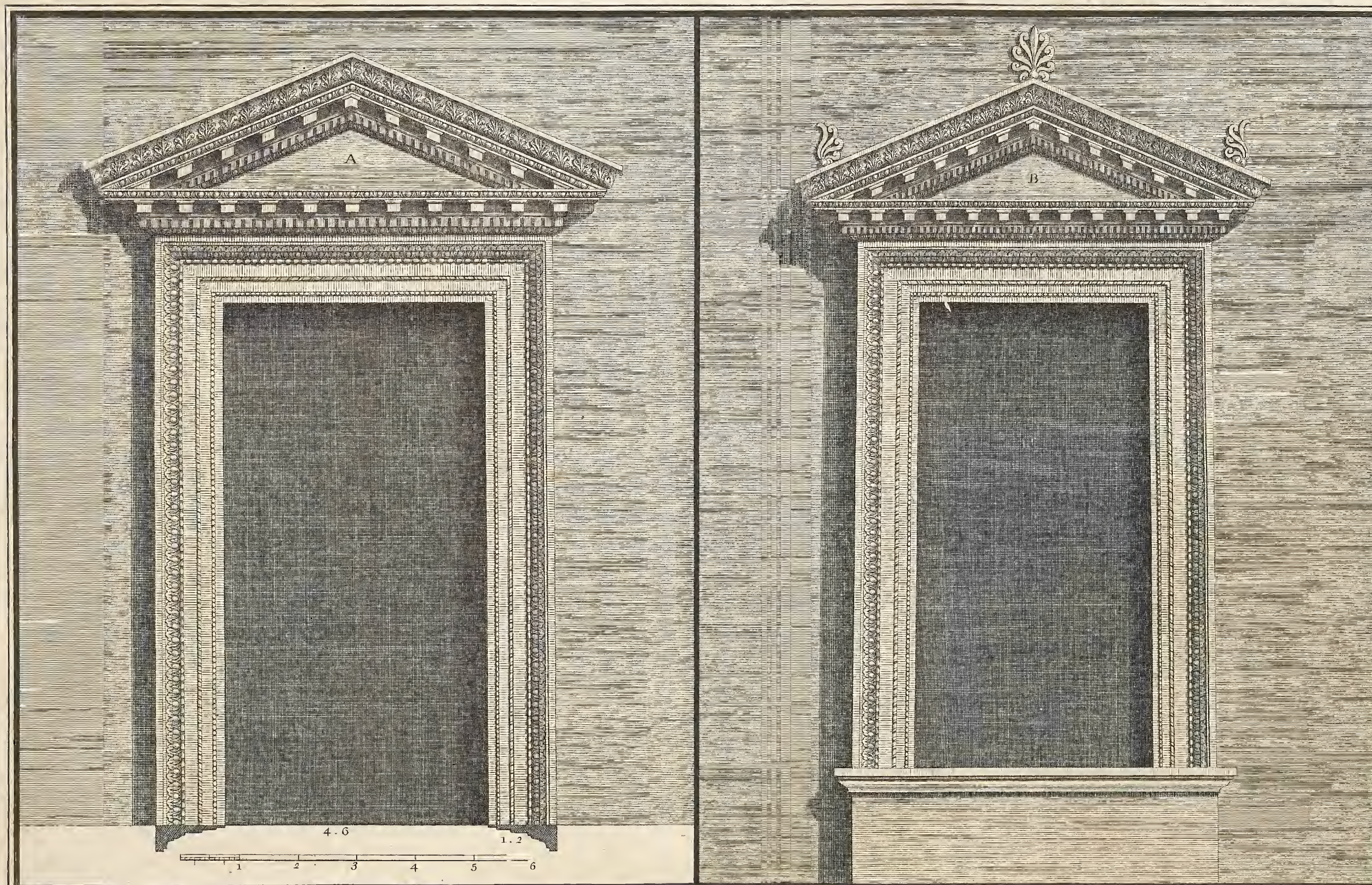
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab: XI.



E
B
F
G
C
D
A
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5 10 20 30 40
J. M. Müller Jun.r sculp.

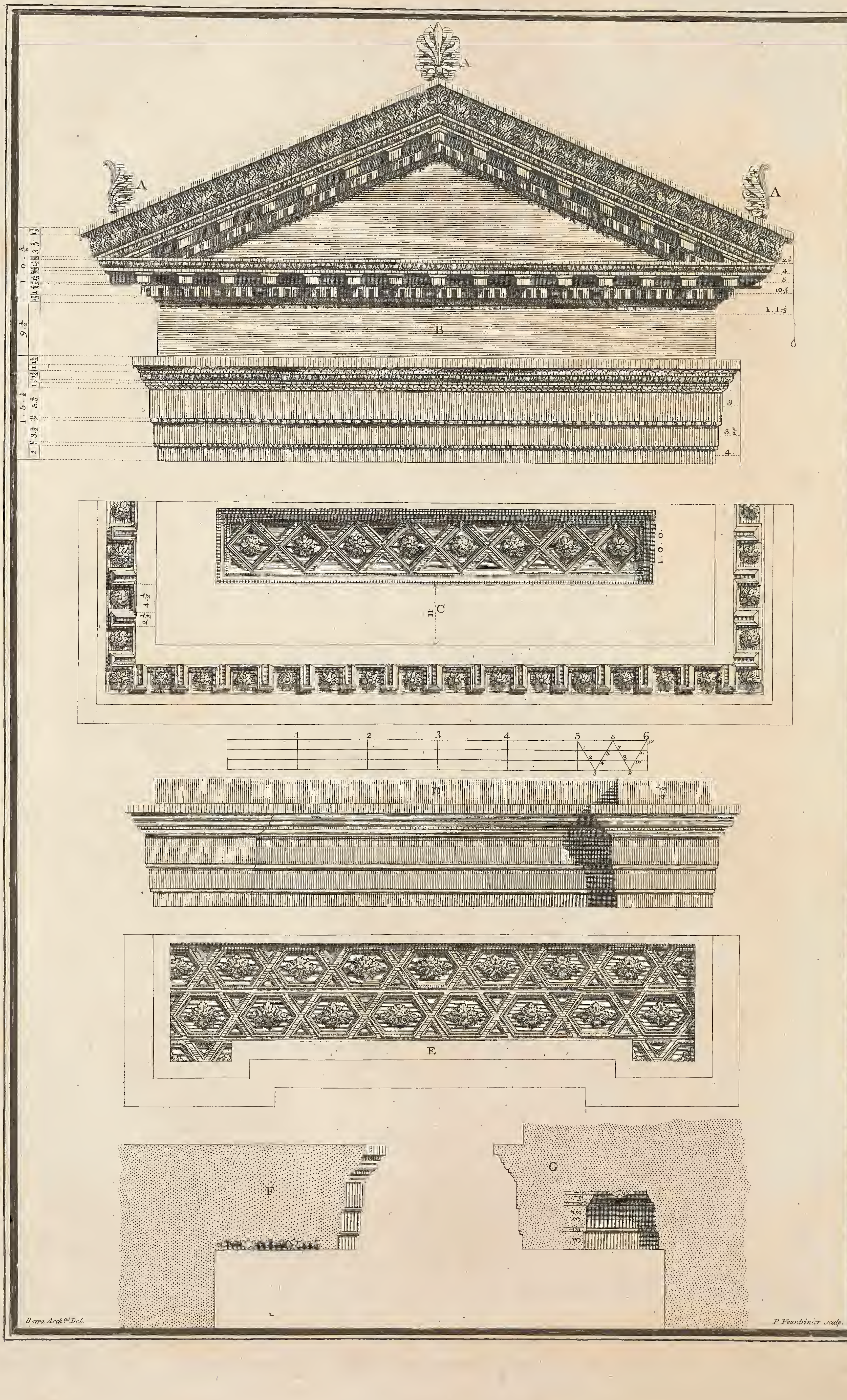
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Berra Arch.t Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

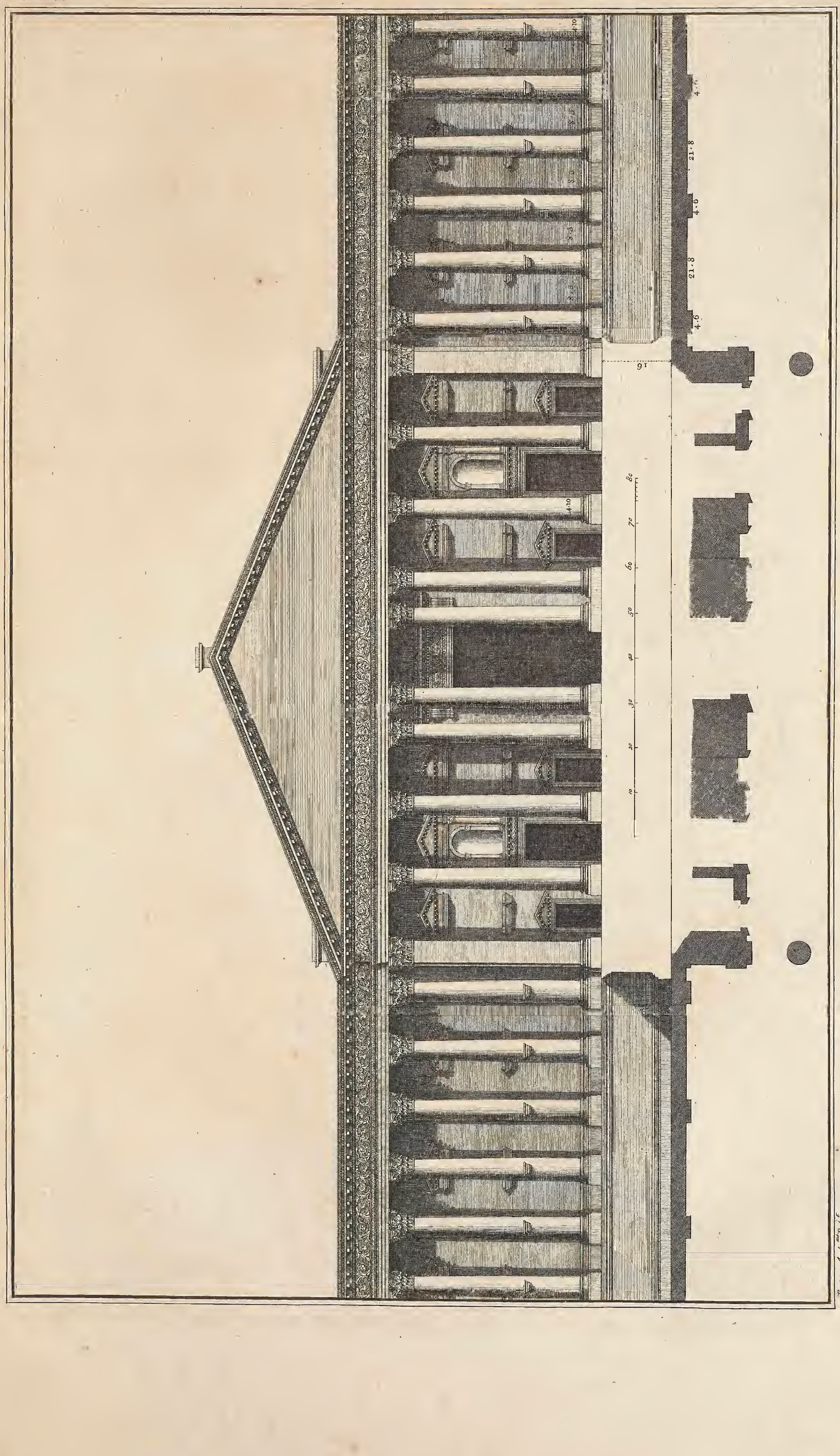
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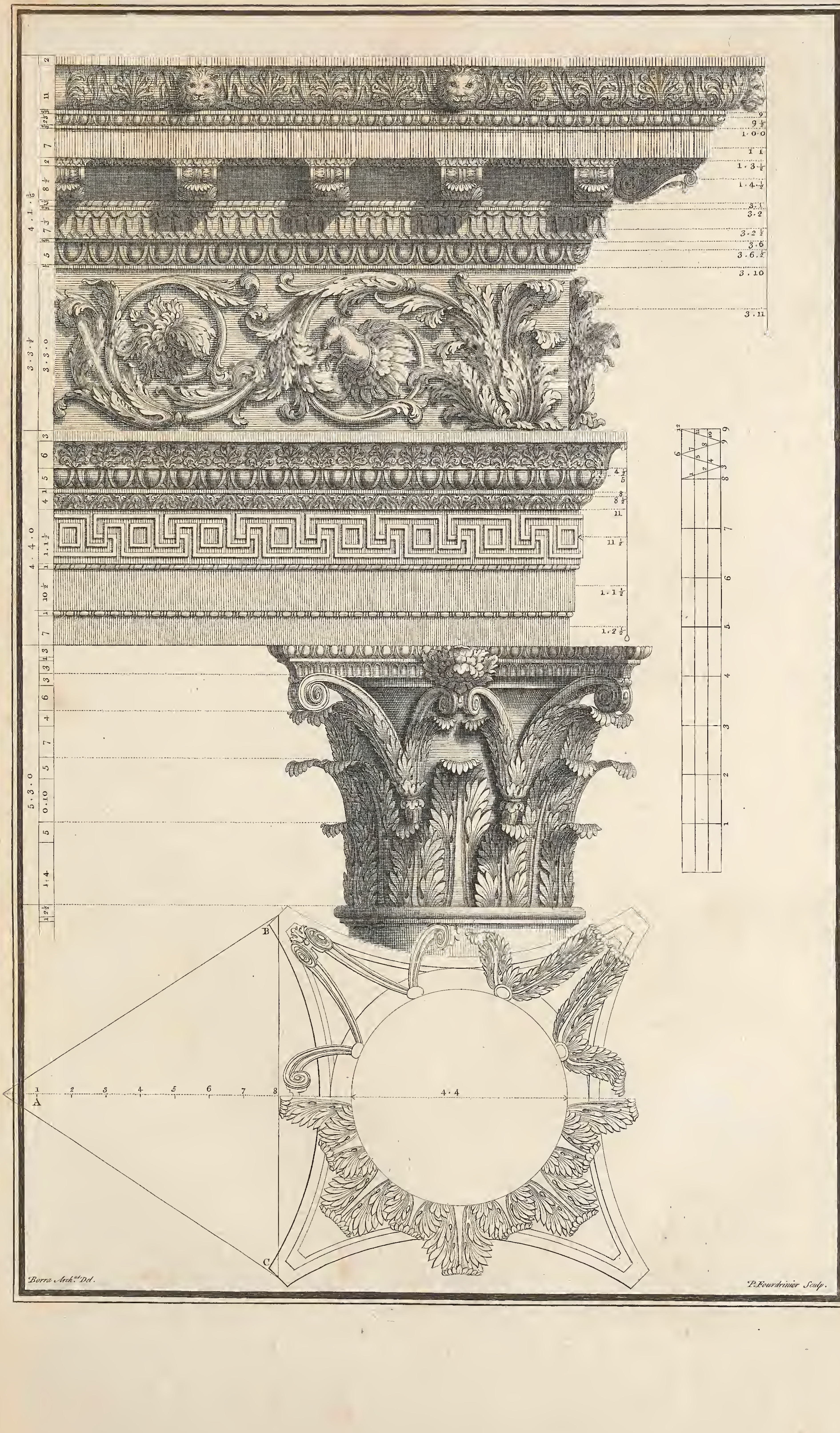
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P. Fourdrinier sculp.

Tab. XIV.



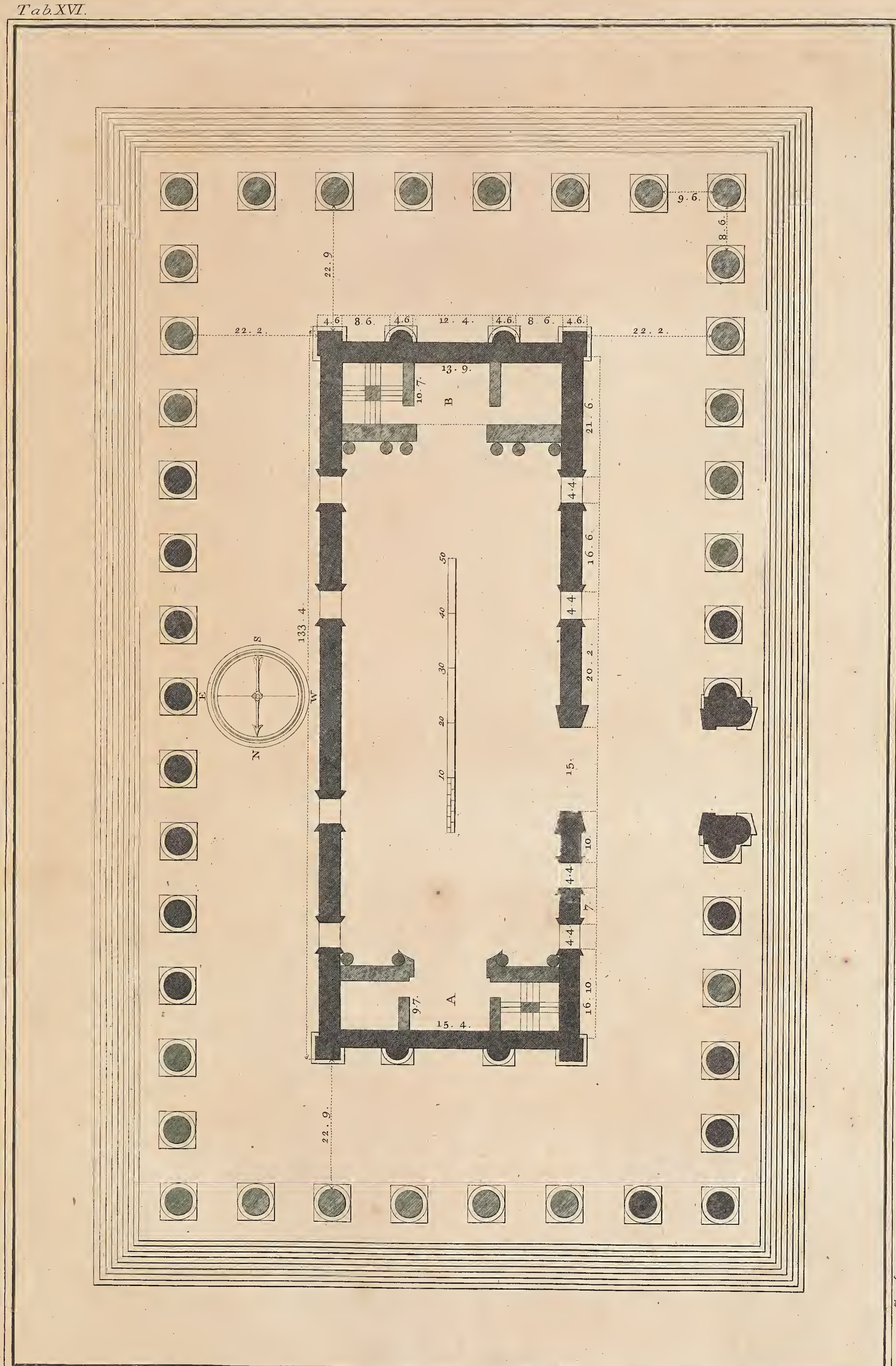
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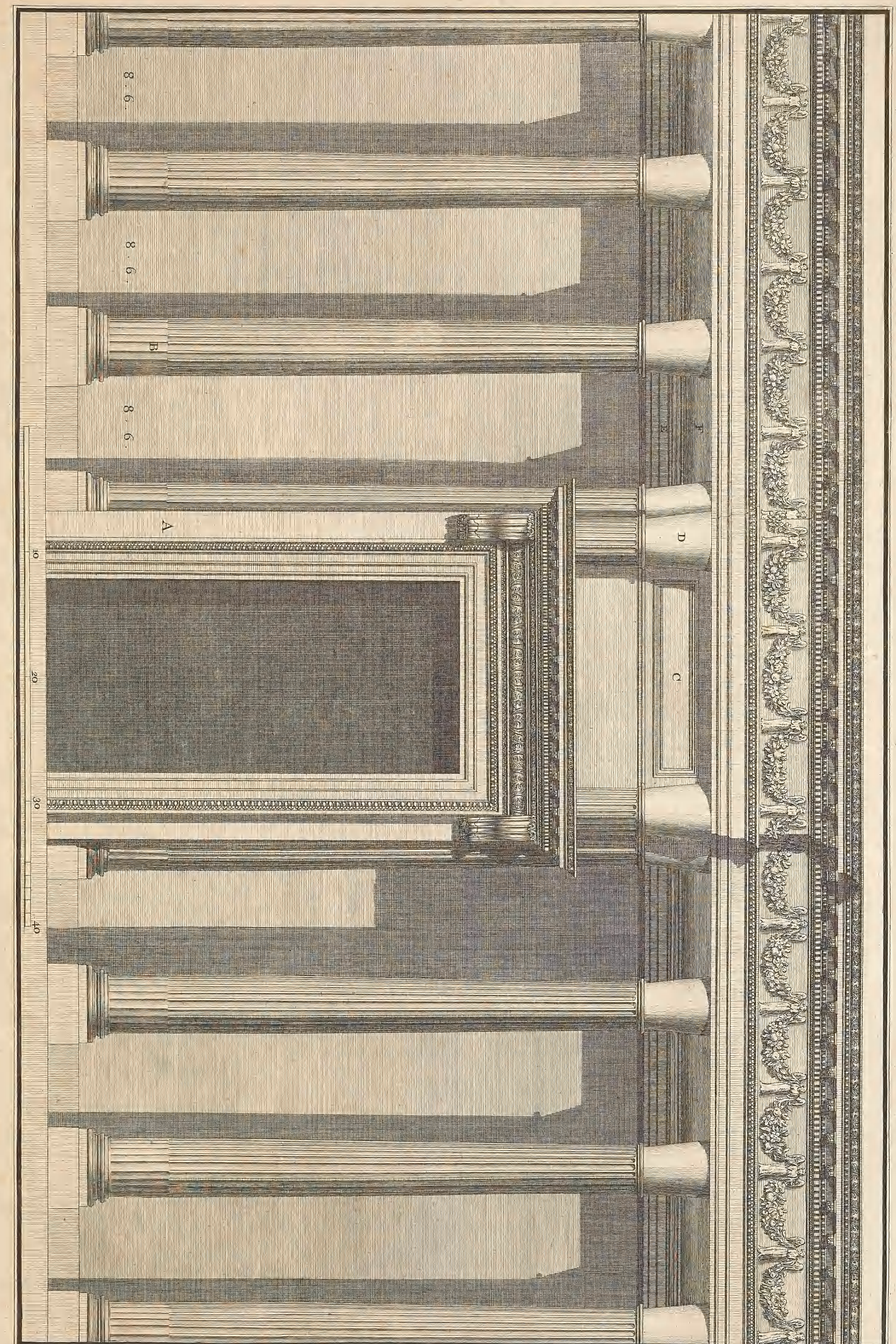
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab.XVI.



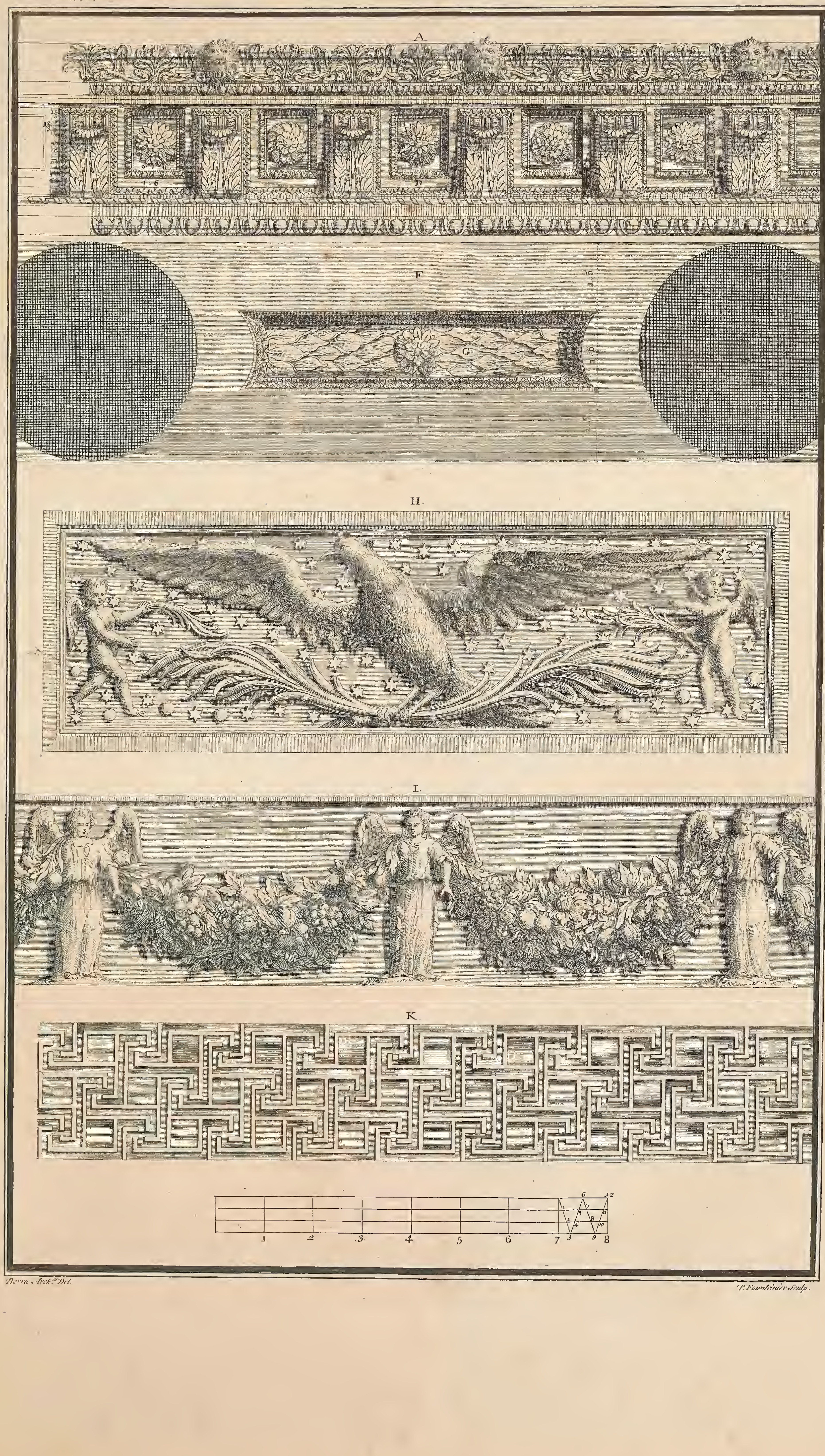
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Borra Archit. Del.



Tab. XVII

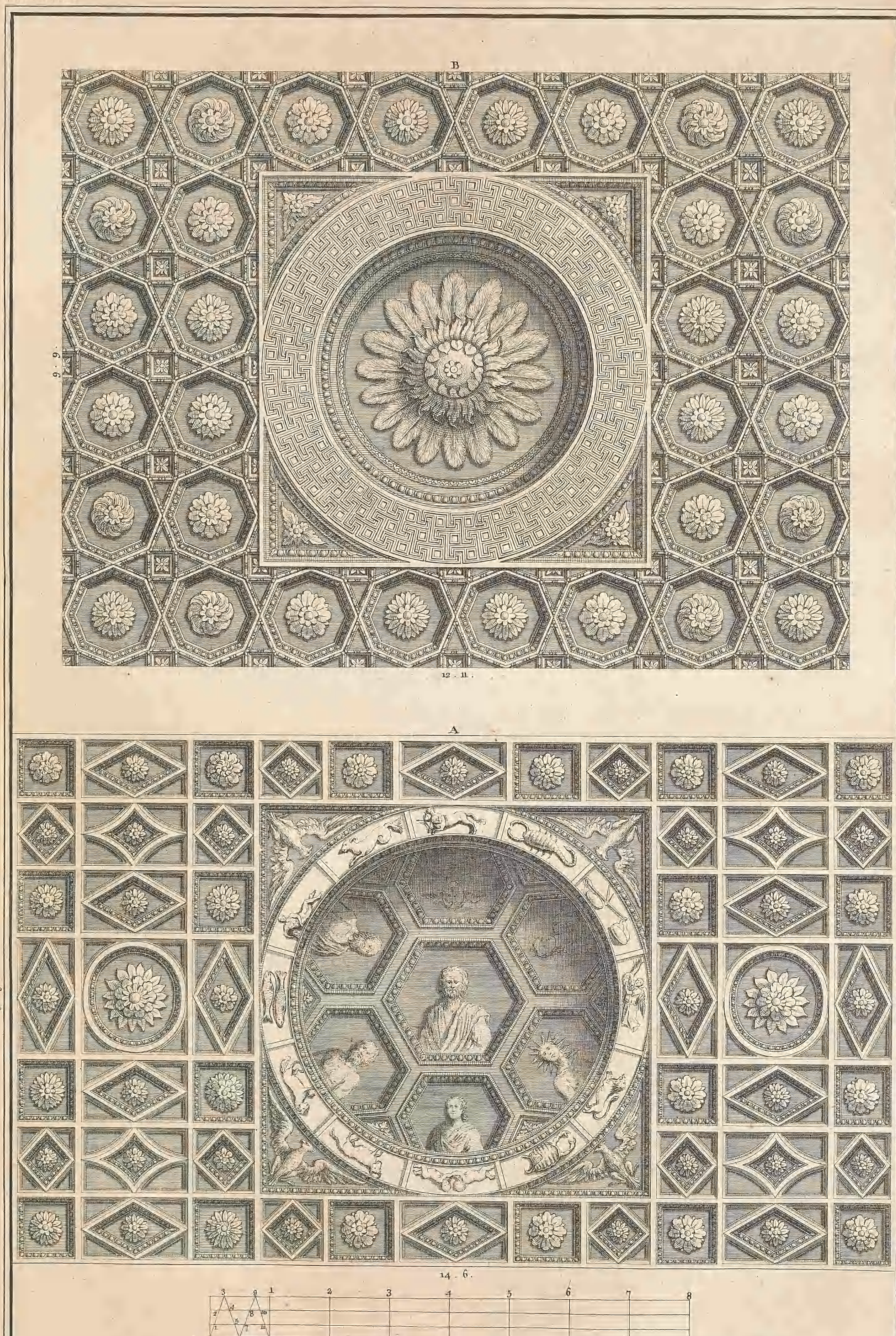
Tab. XVIII.



Perra. Arch.tu Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

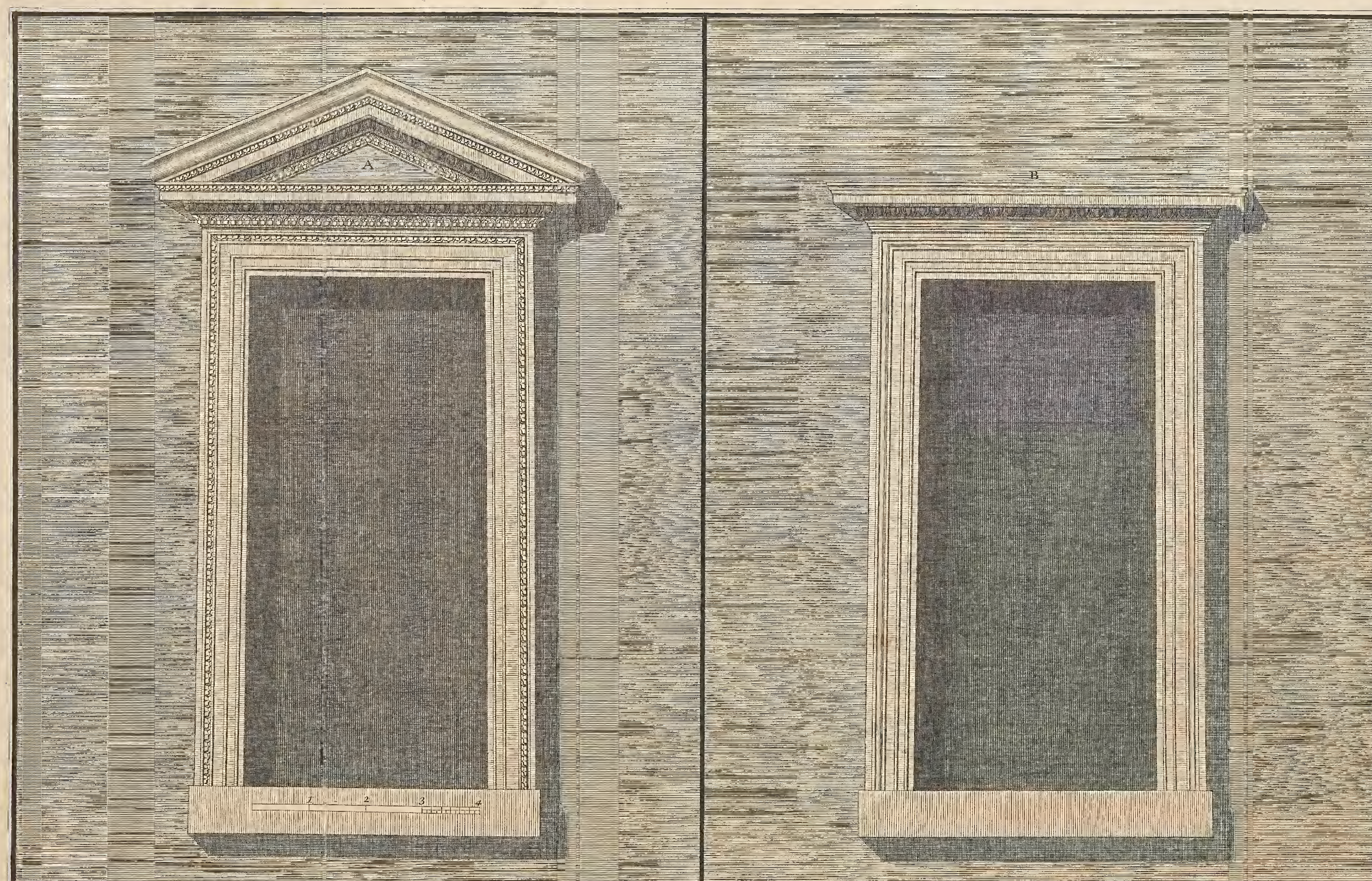
Tab. XIX.



Borra Archt. Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab. XX.



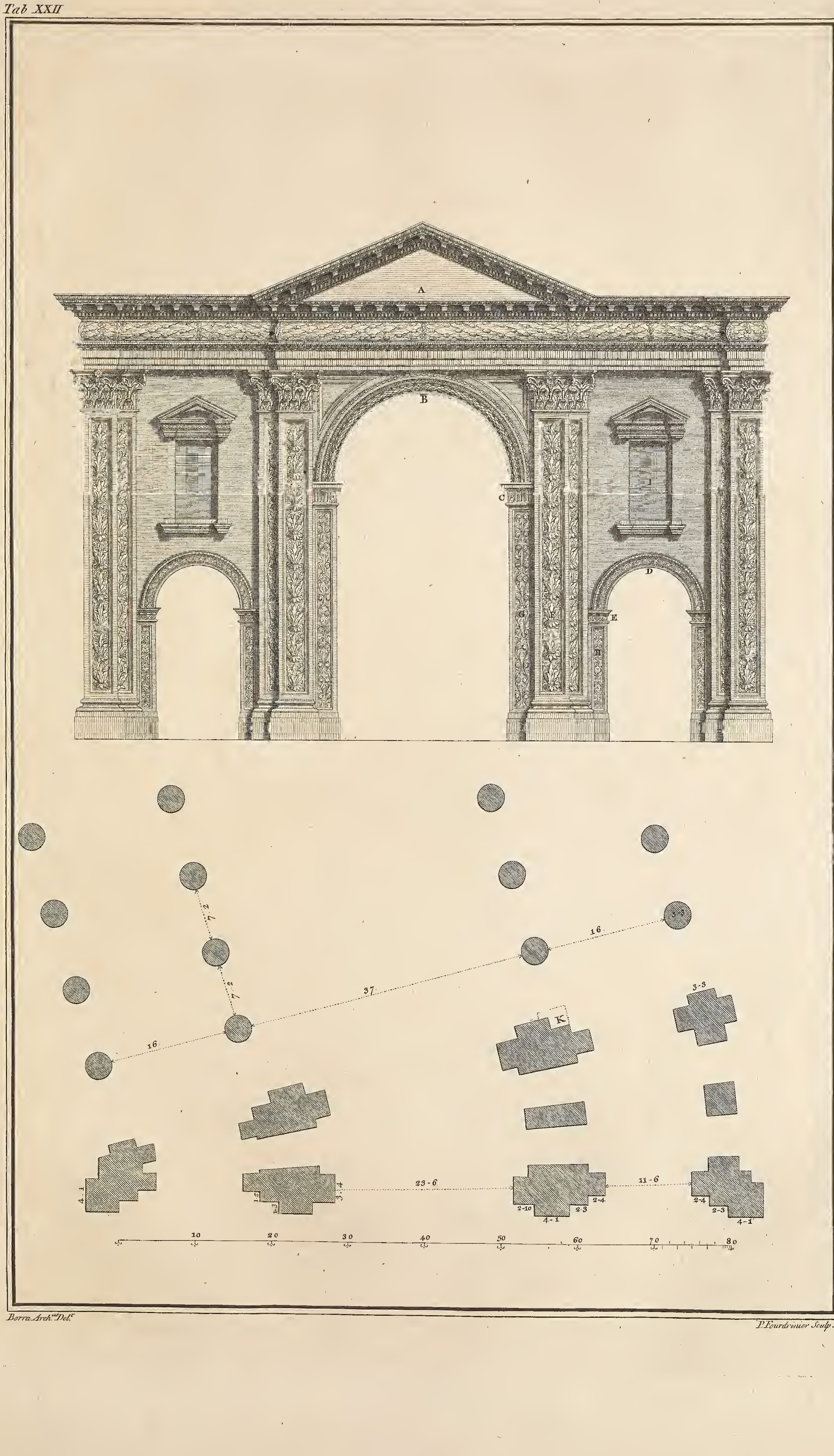
T. M. Müller Jun. Sculp.

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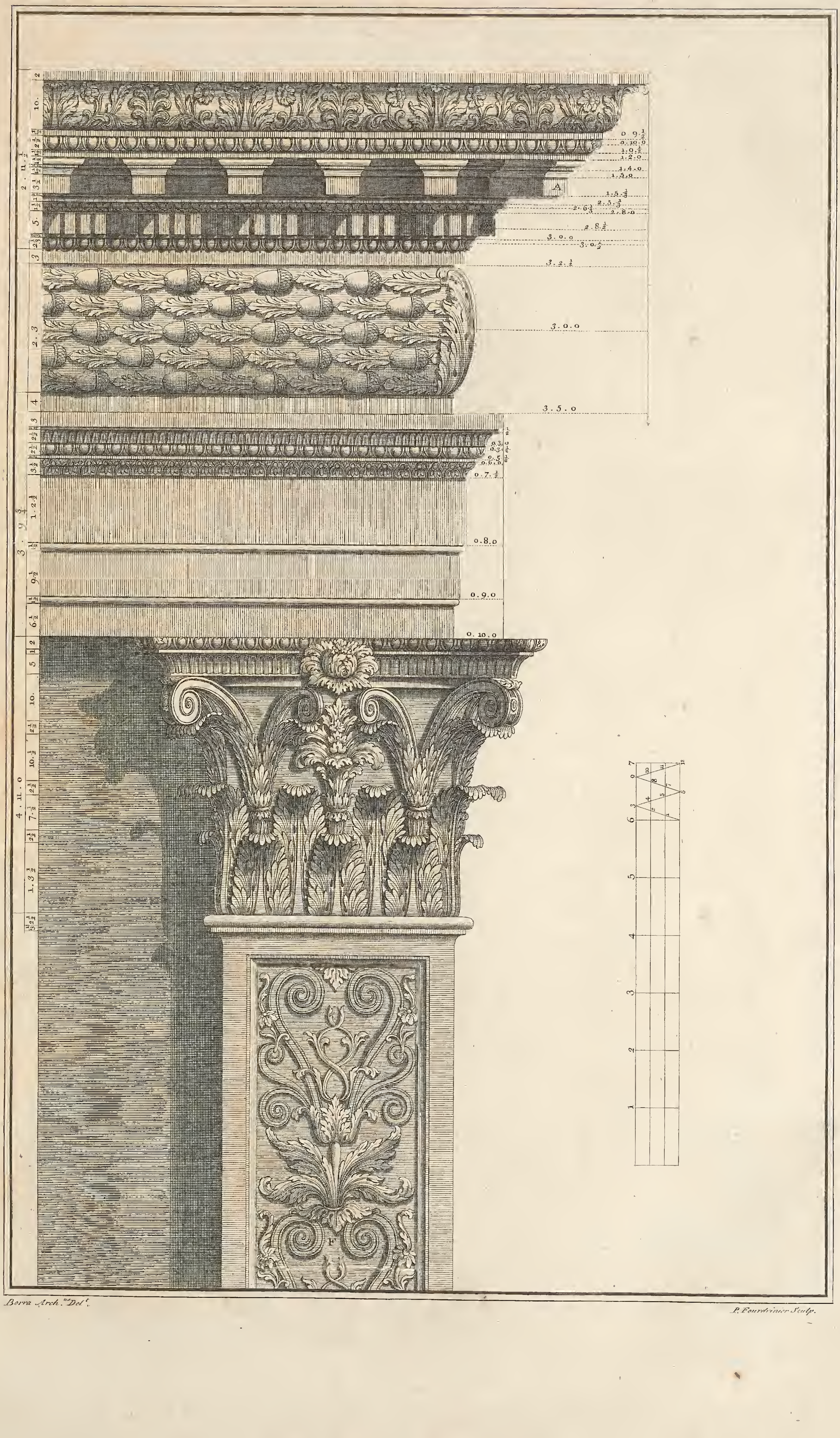
Borra Archtus del. J. S. Müller Sc.

Tab XXII



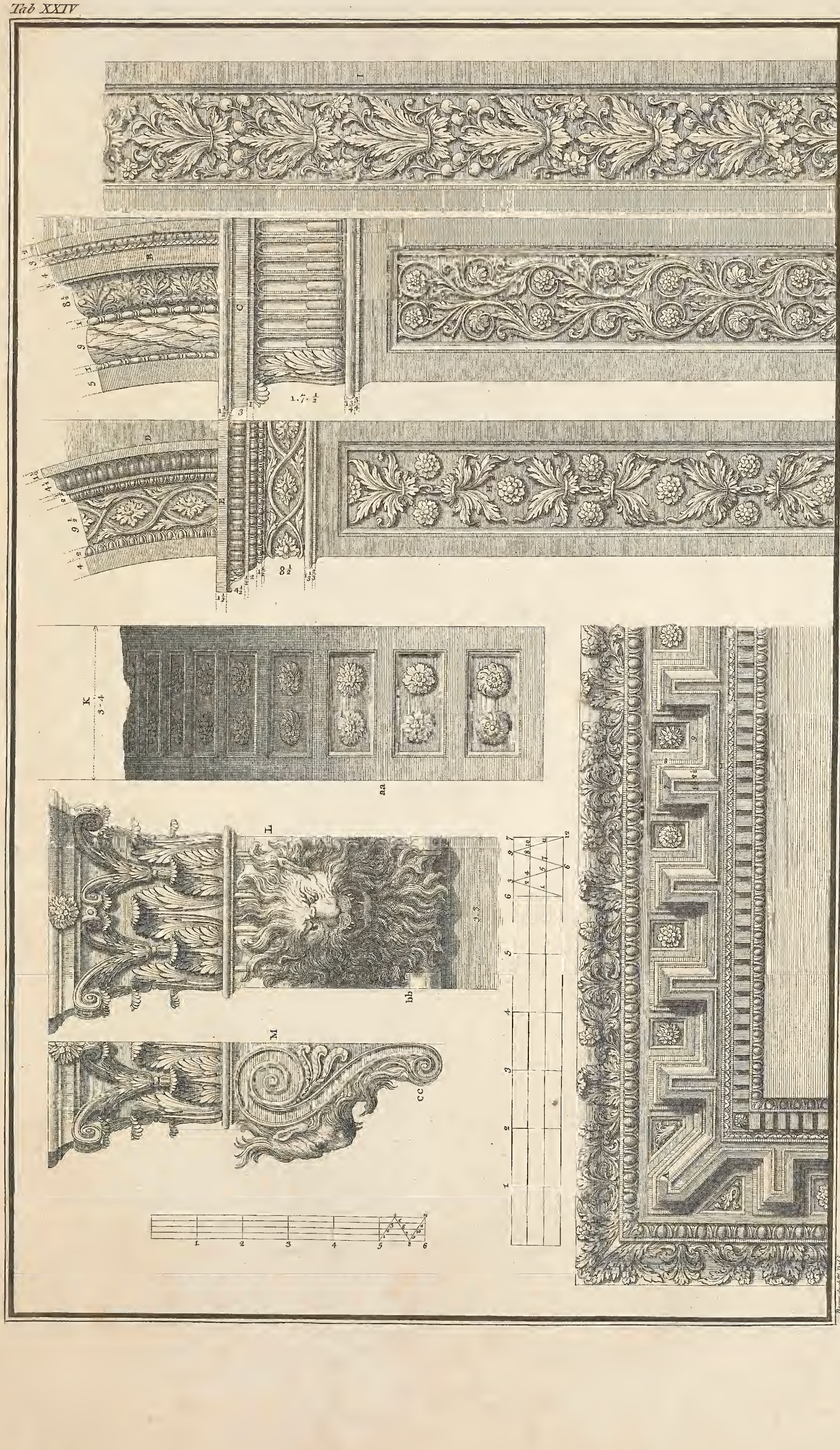
Borra Archit. Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

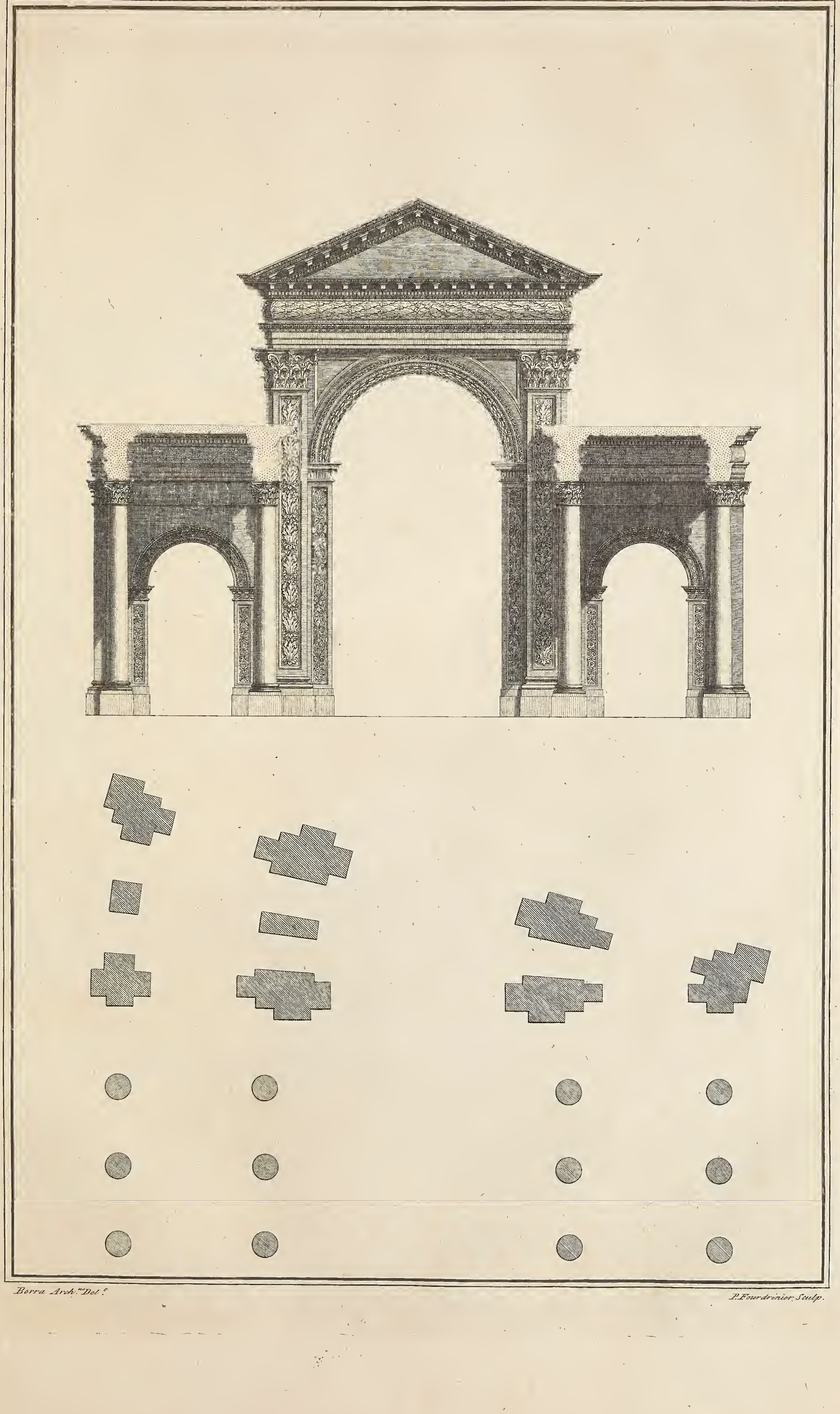


Borra Arch.^to Del^t. P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab XXIV



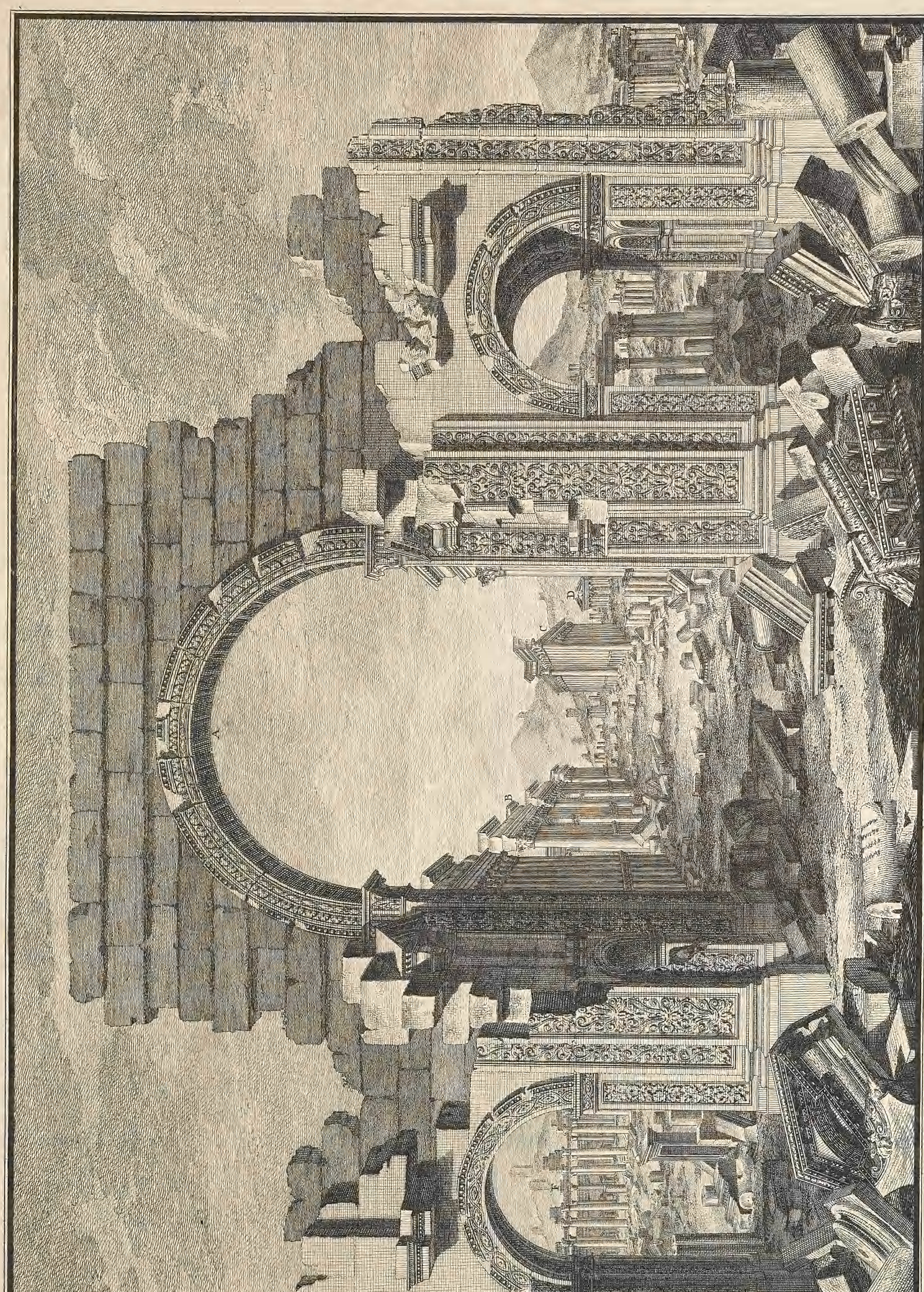
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Borra Arch.tus Del.t

P. Fourdrinier, Sculp.

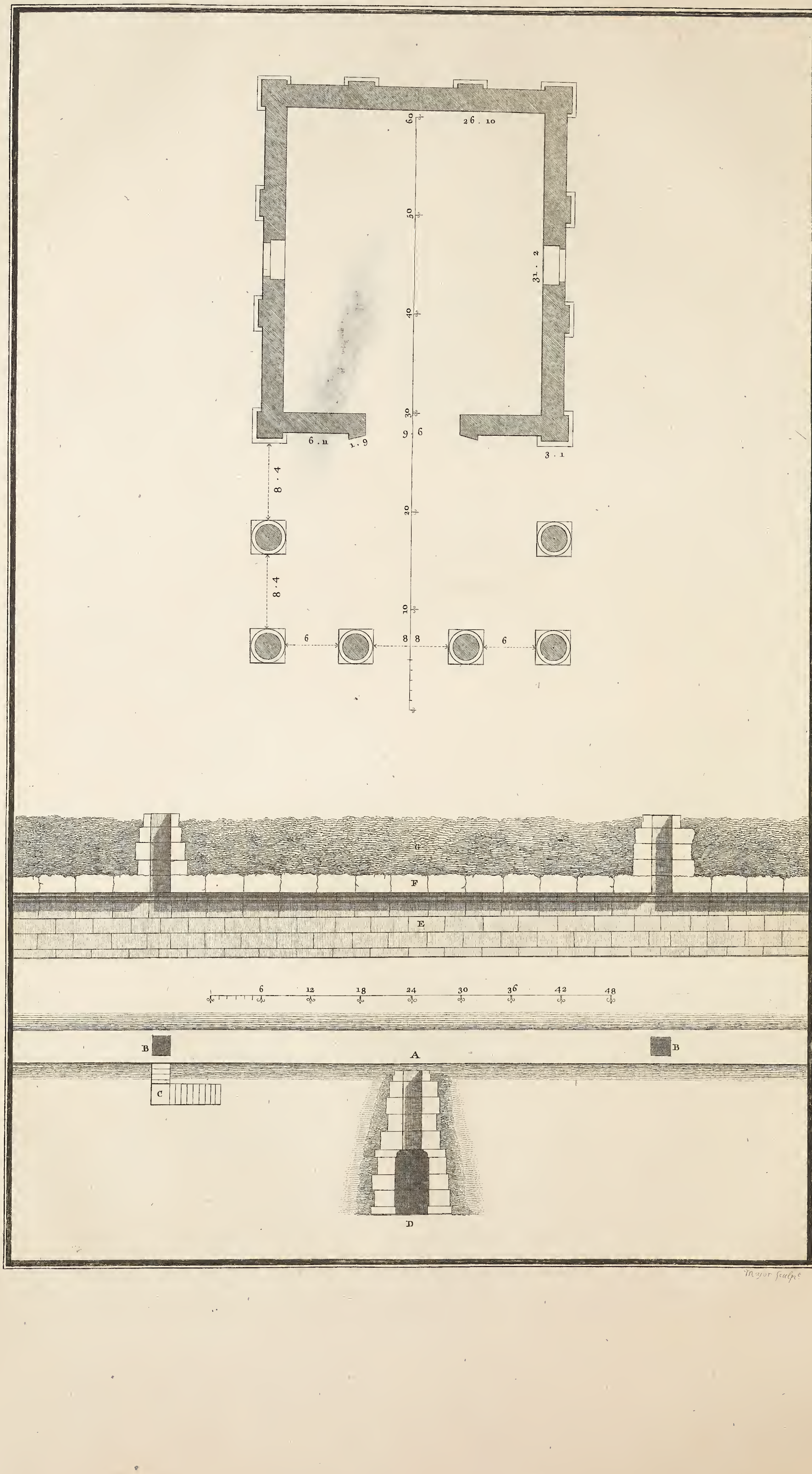
Tab: XXVI.



J.B. Borra Arch: del.

J.S. Müller Sc.

Tab: XXVII.



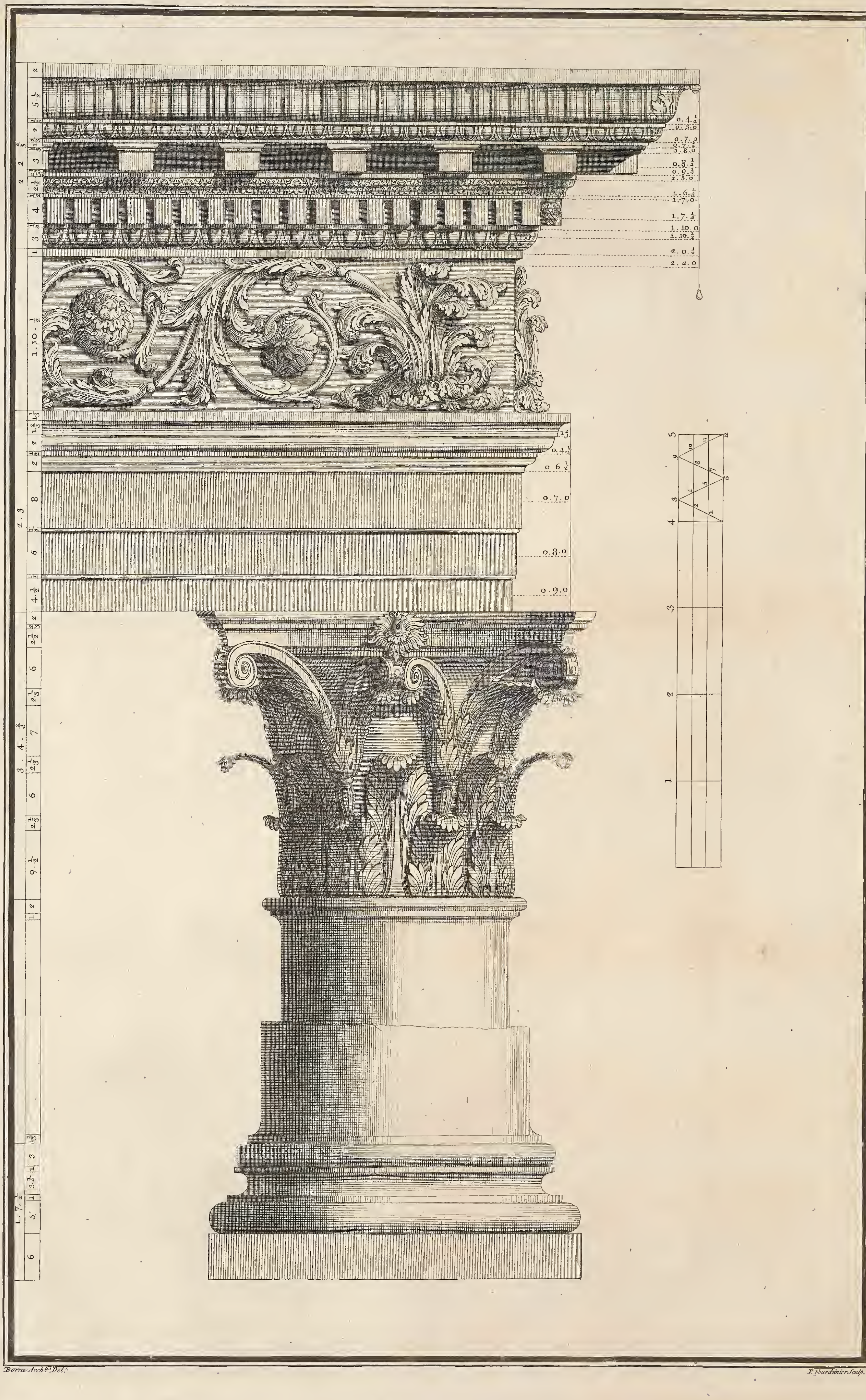
Major sculp.

Tab. XXVIII.



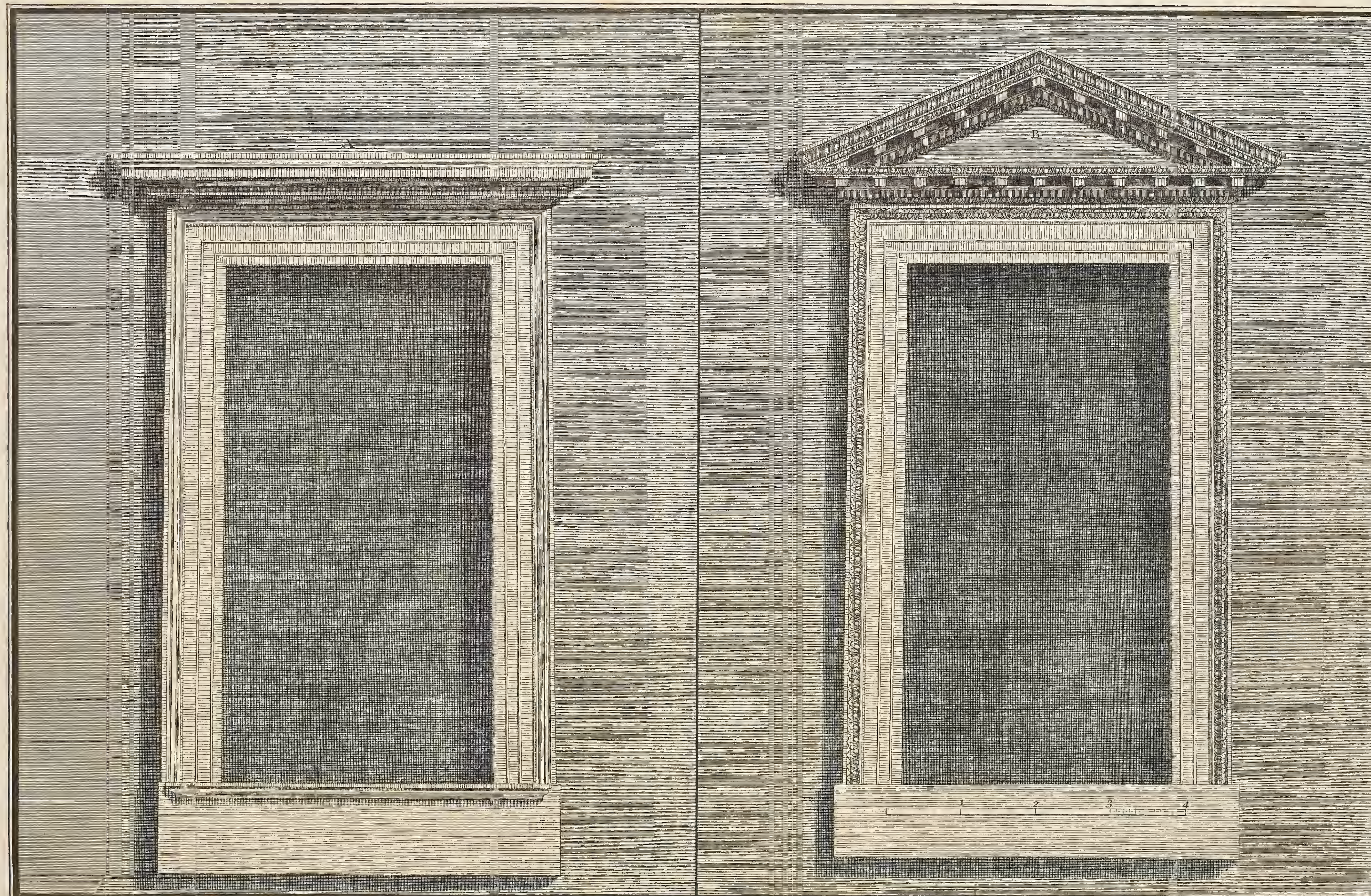
Borra Arch.[ts] Del.[t] P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab. XXIX.



Barra Arch.to Del.t F. Bardinier Sculp.

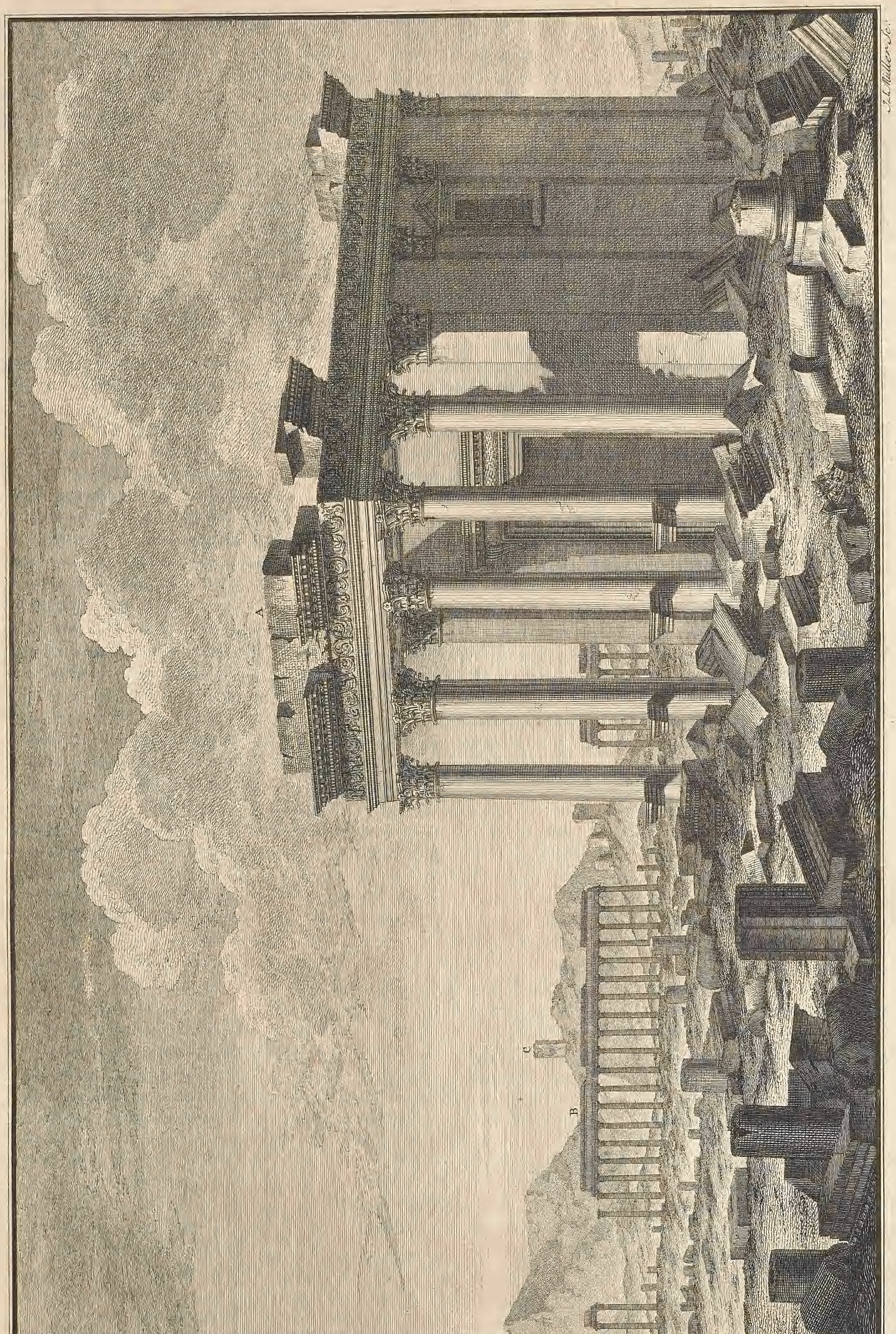
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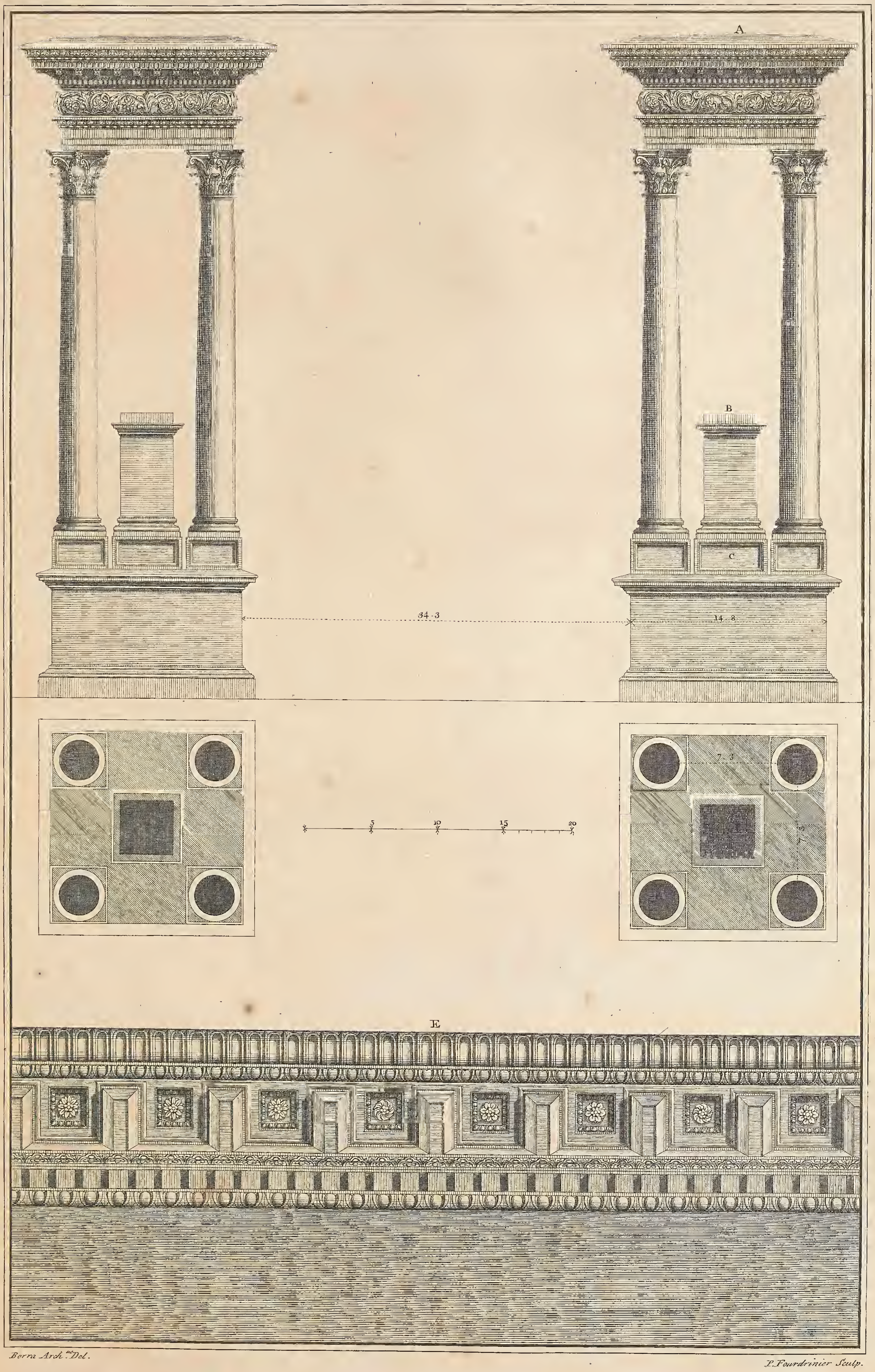
Borra Arch.tus Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab: XXXI.



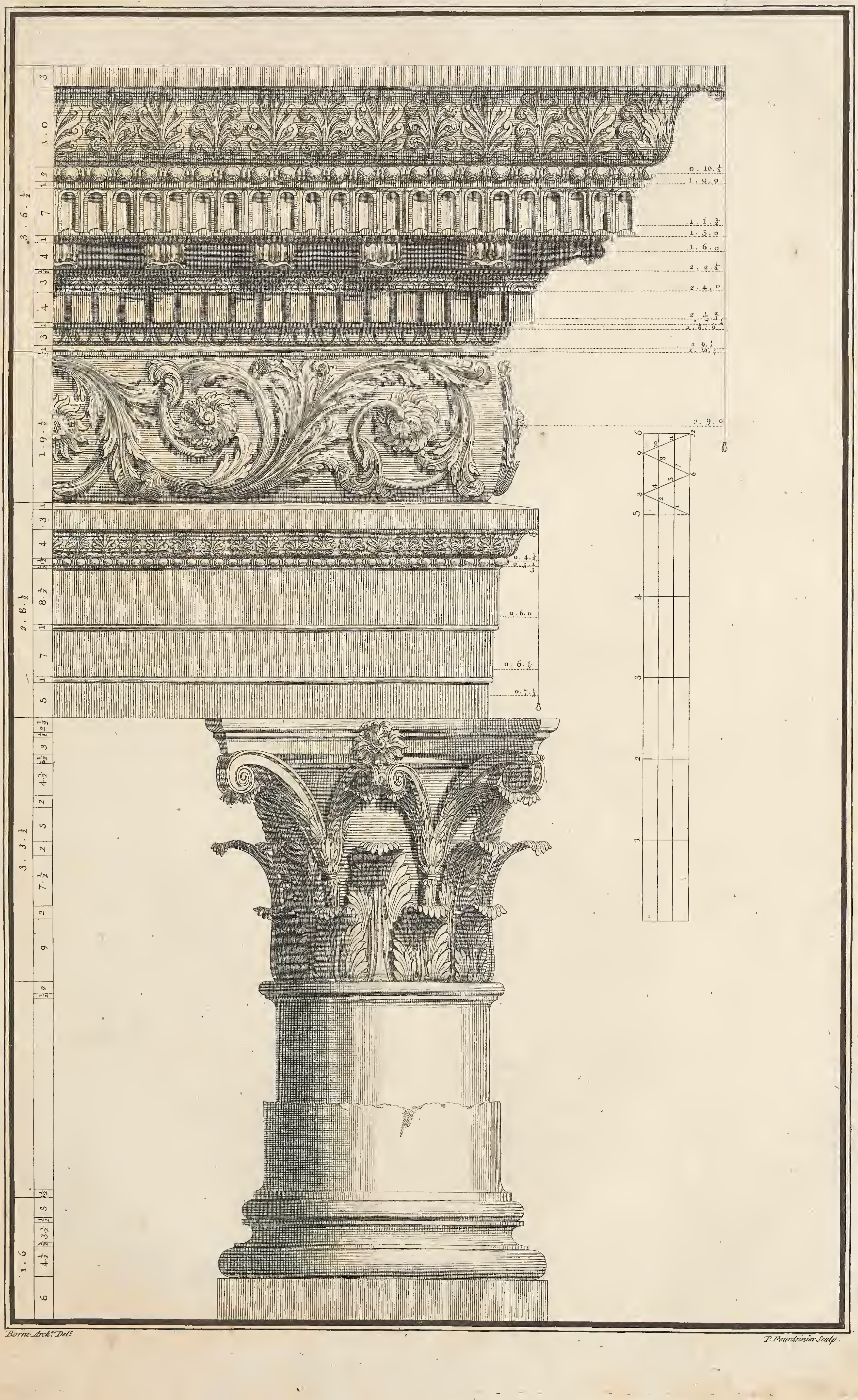
Tab. XXXII.



Borra Archit. Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

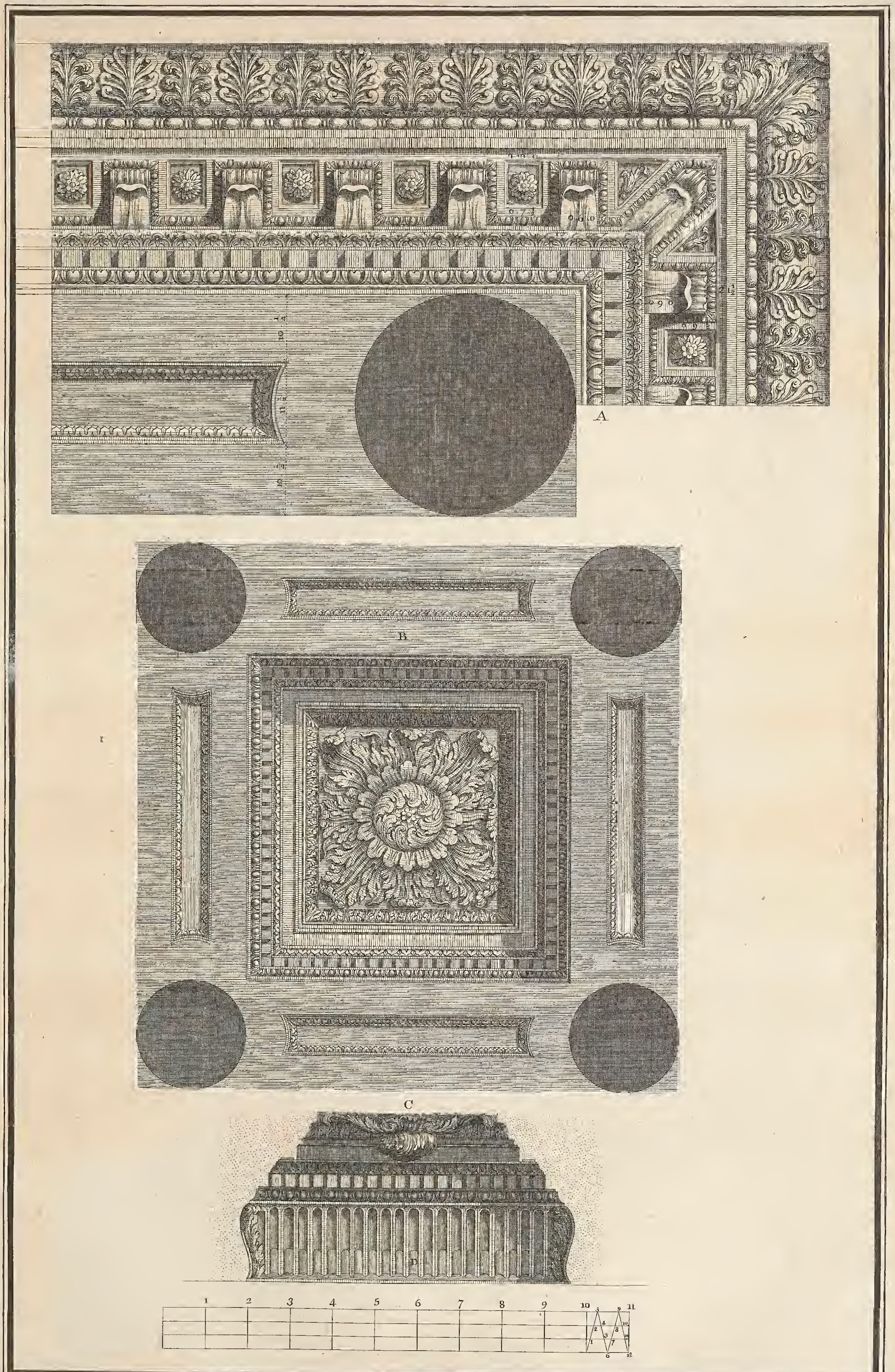
Tab. XXXIII.



Borra Archᵗᵘˢ Delᵗ

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab.XXXIV.



Borra Archt. Del.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

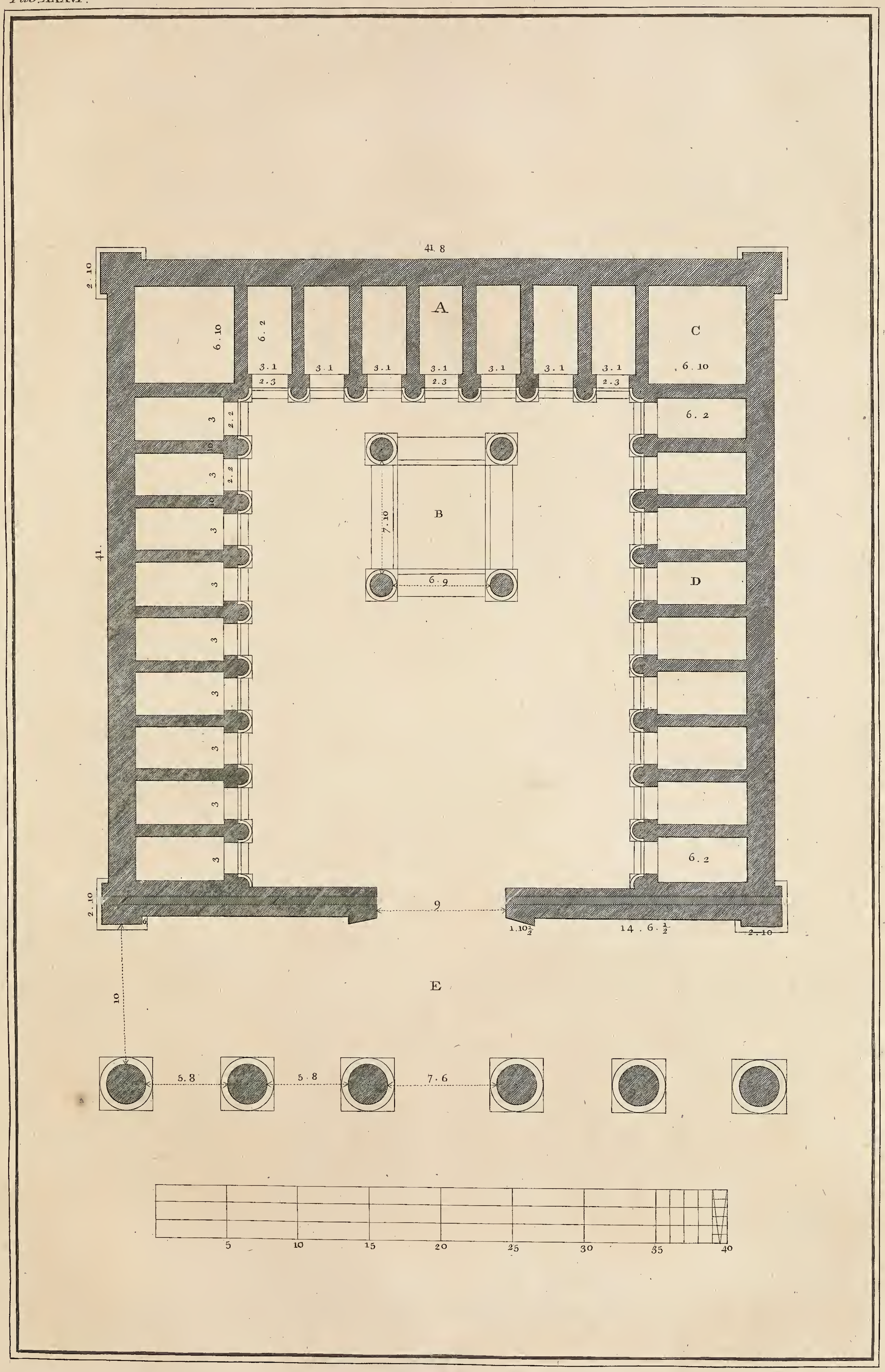


J.P. Borra Arch. del.

J.S. Müller Sculp.

Tab. XXXV.

Tab.XXXVI.



41.8
A
B
C
D
E
2.10
6.10
6.2
3.1
2.3
3
2.2
41.
7.10
6.9
9
1.10½
14.6.½
10
5.8
7.6
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40

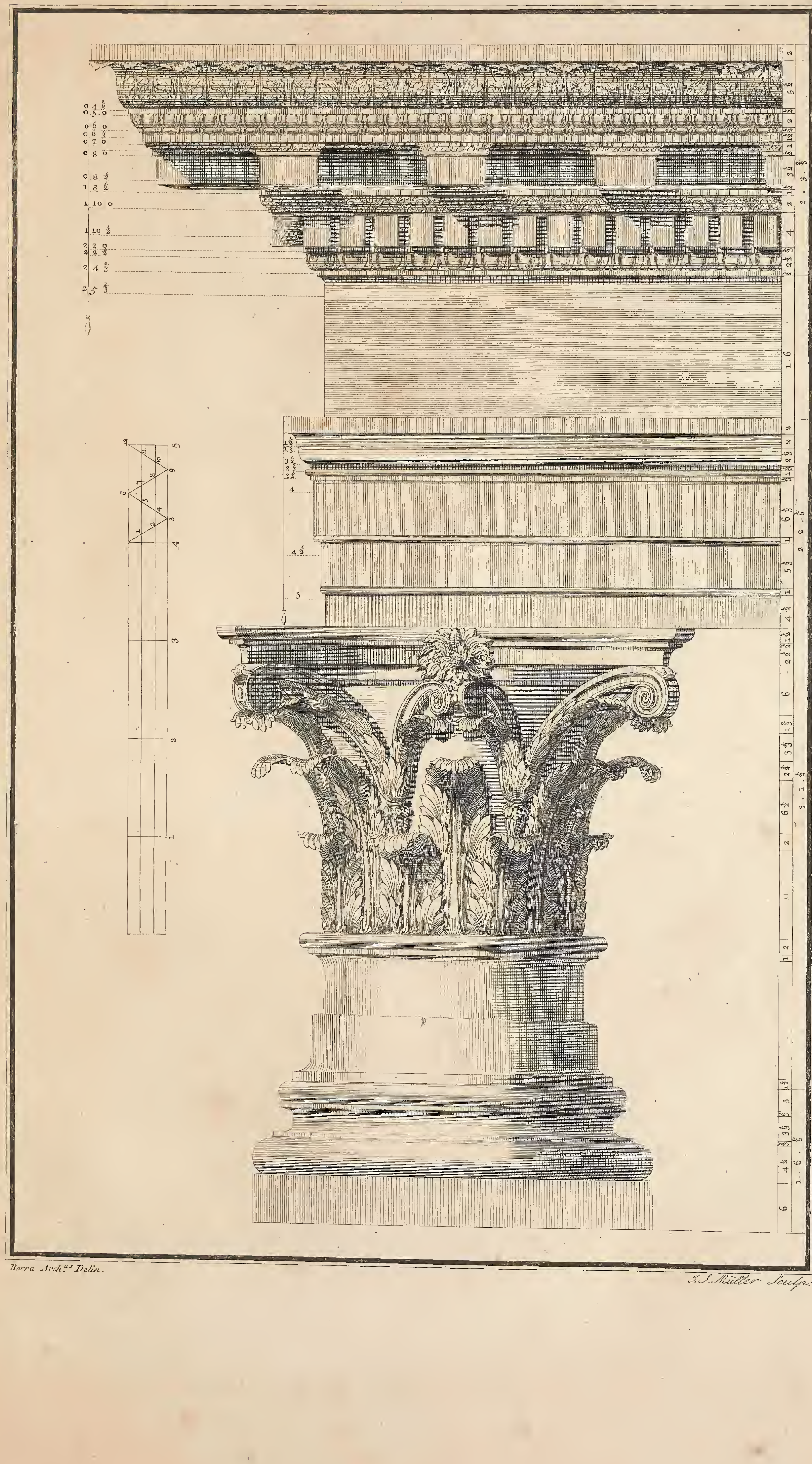


Tab. XXXVII.



J. M. Müller Jun. sculp.

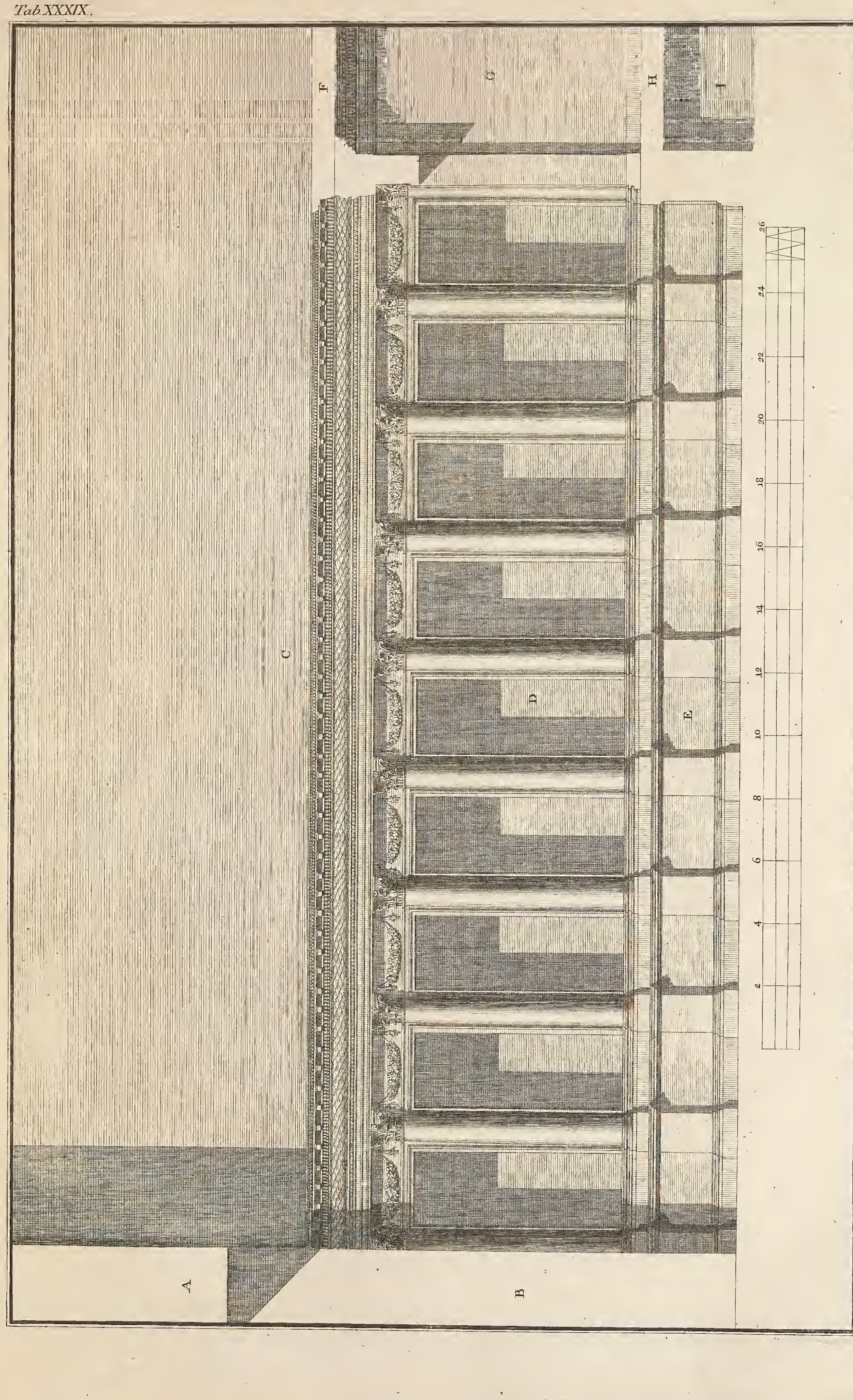
Tab: XXXVIII



Borra Arch.^us Delin.

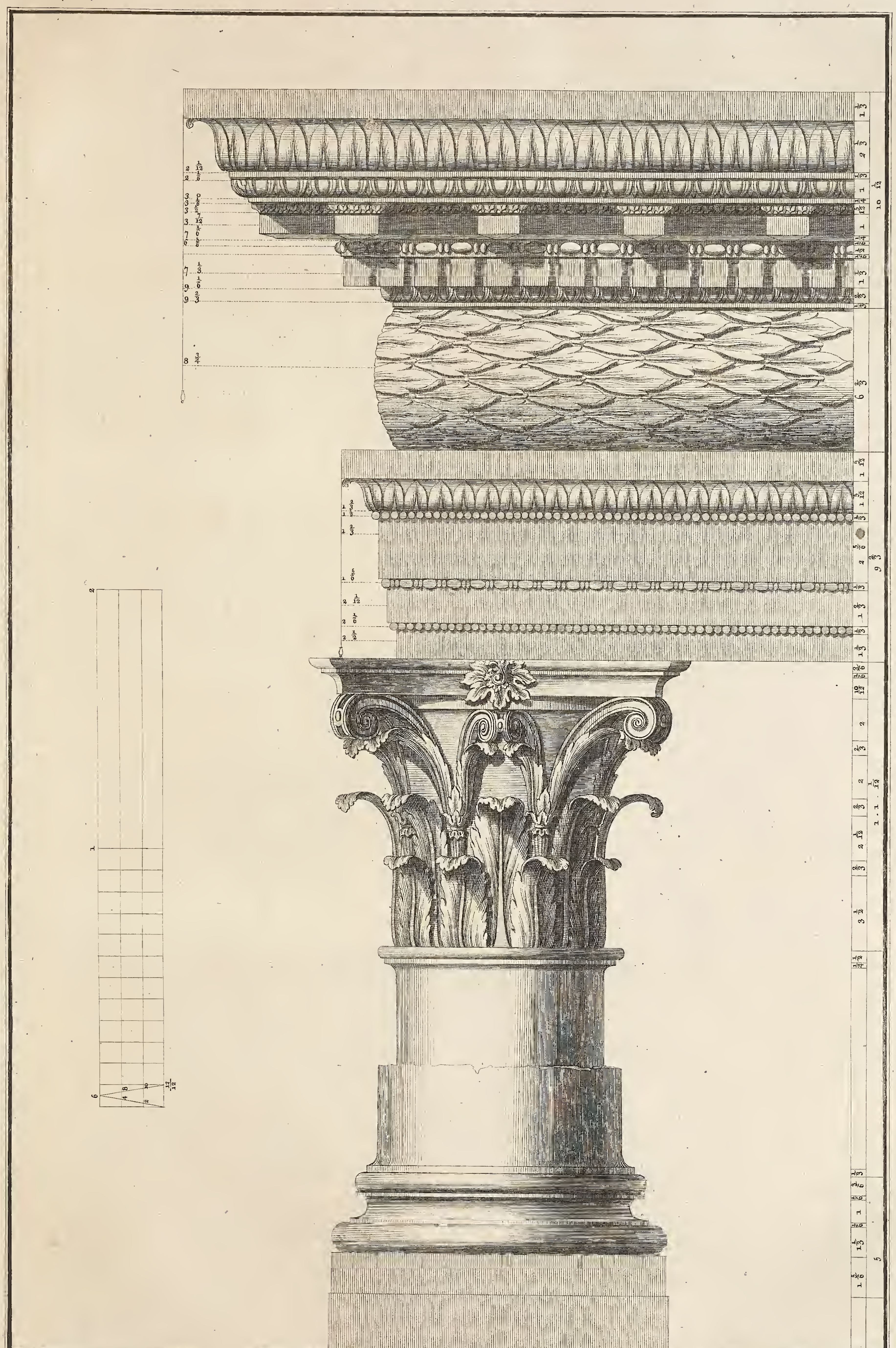
I. S. Müller Sculp.

Tab.XXXIX.



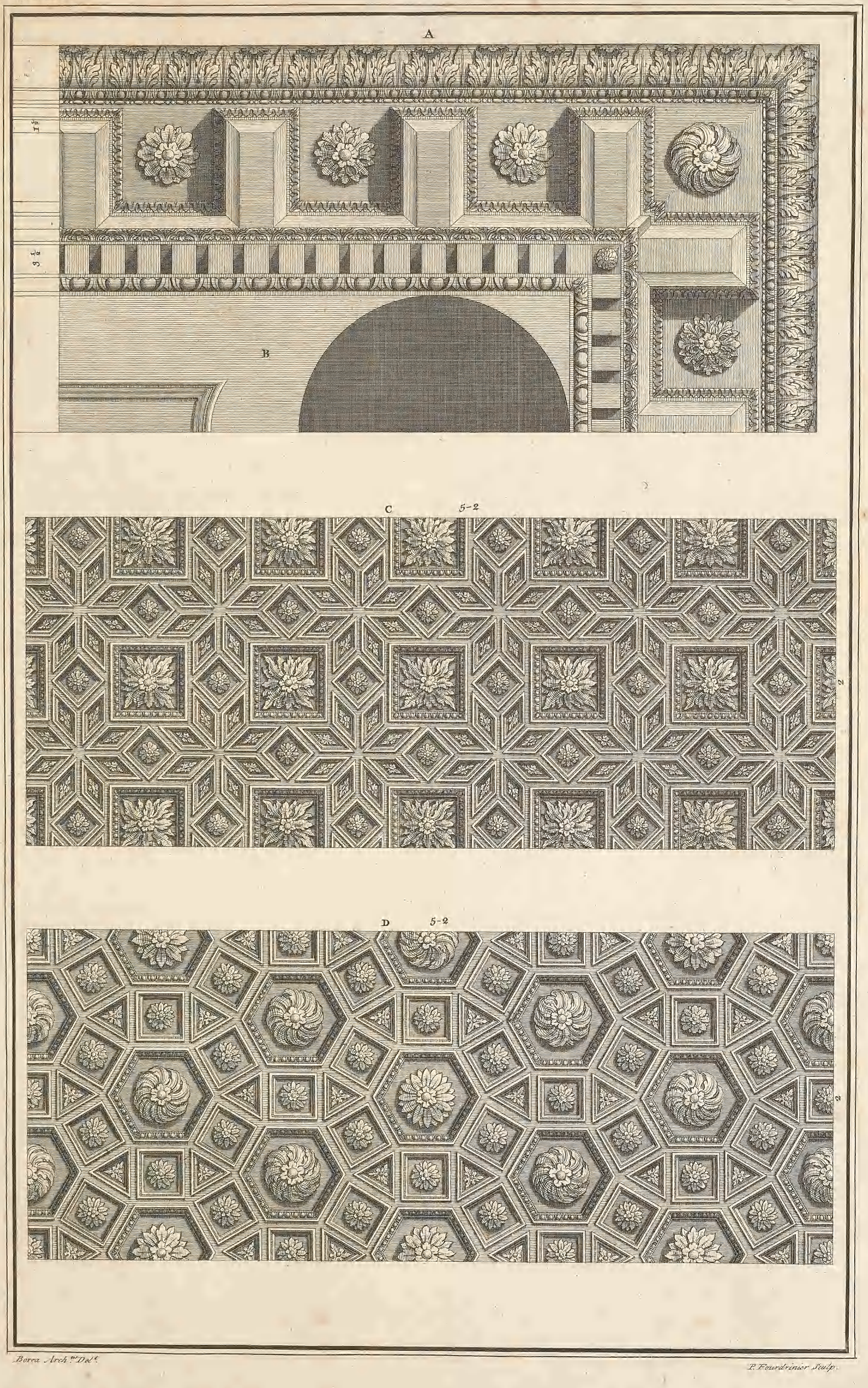
J. M. Müller Jun. sculp.

Tab: XL.



Borra Arch.td Delin. T. M. Müller Jun.r Sculp.t

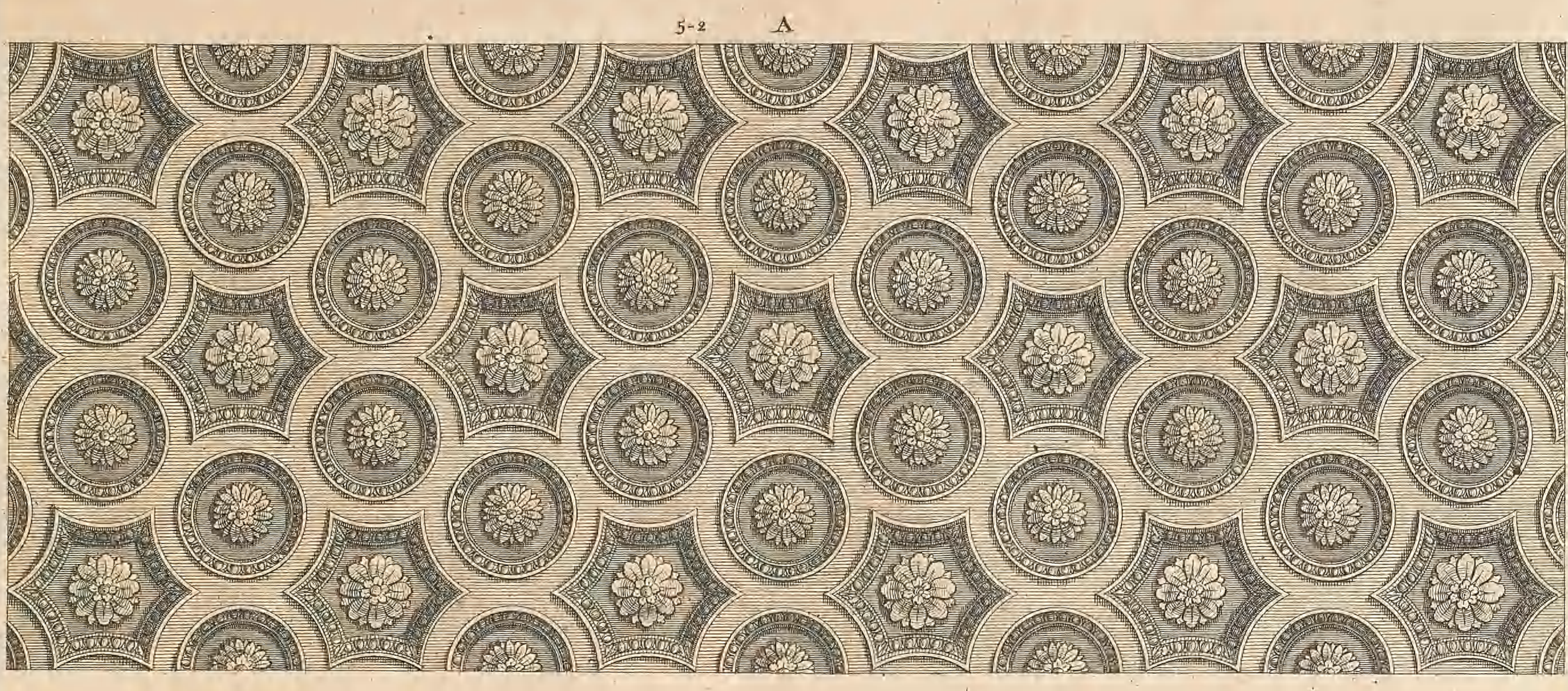
Tab. XLI.



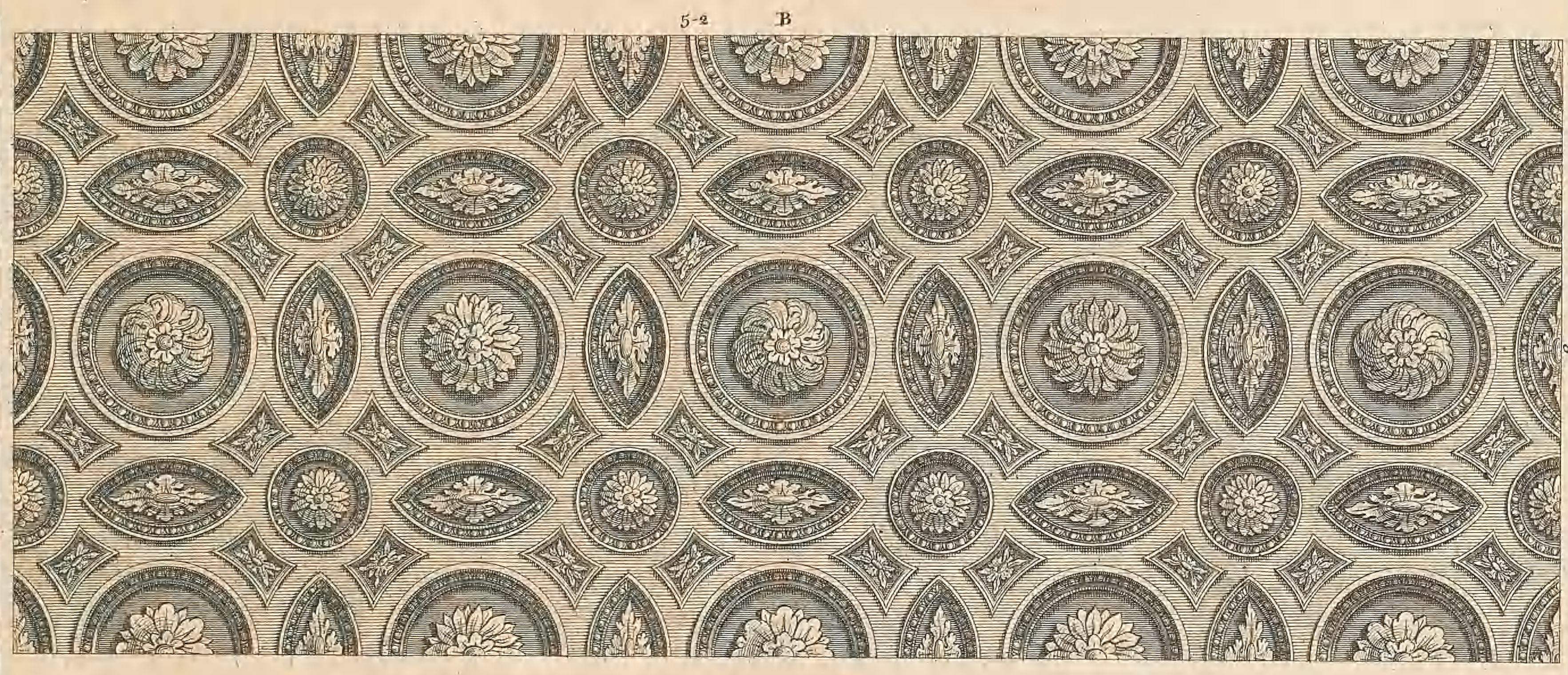
Borra Arch.^{tus} Del.^{t}

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

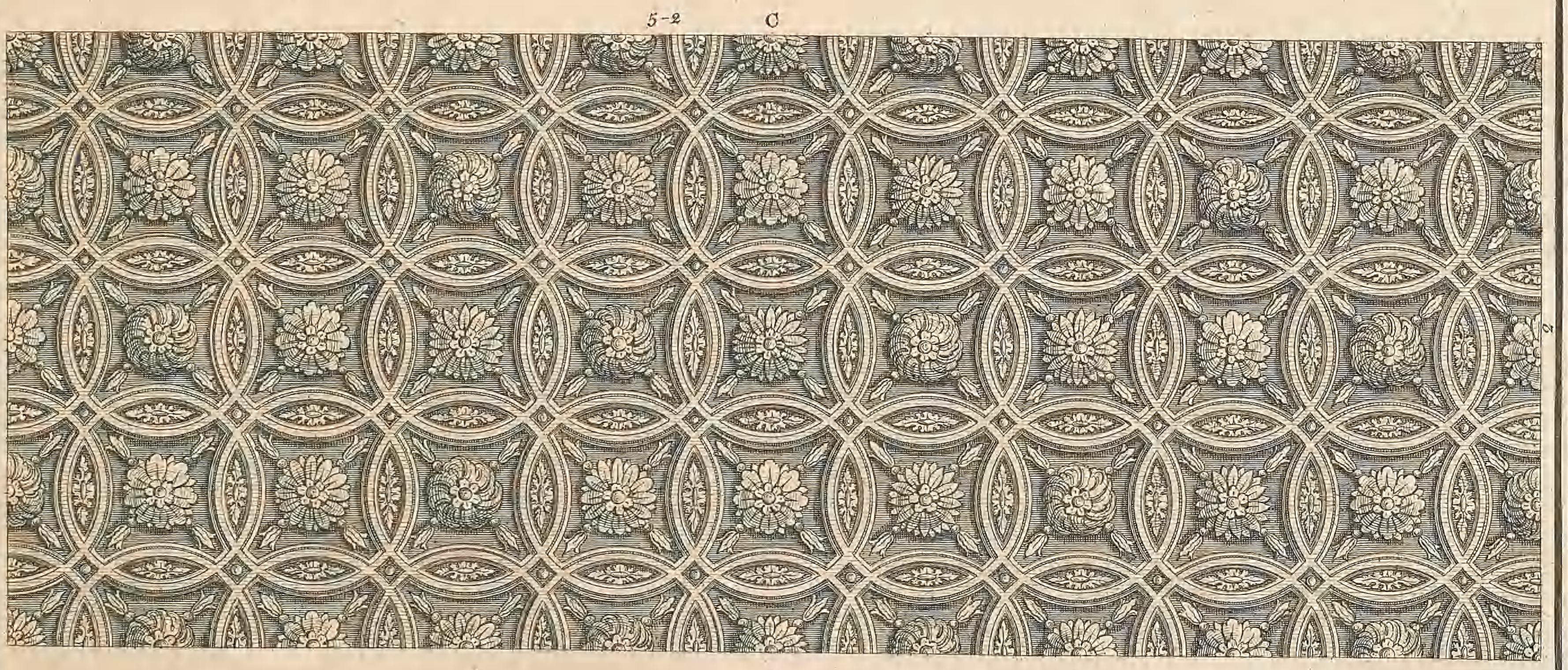
5-2 A



5-2 B



5-2 C



1 2 3 4

Borra Archt. Delt. P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

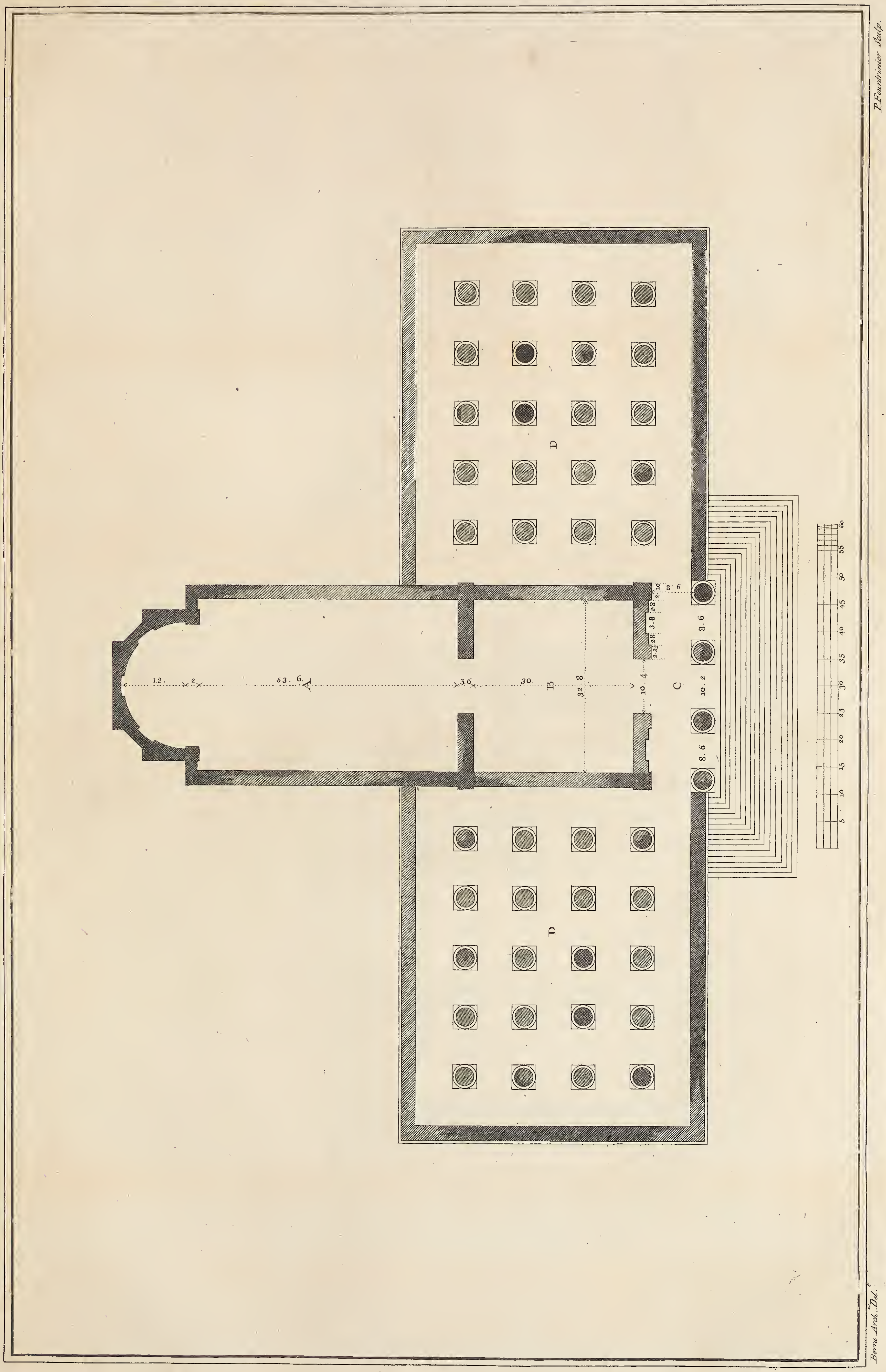
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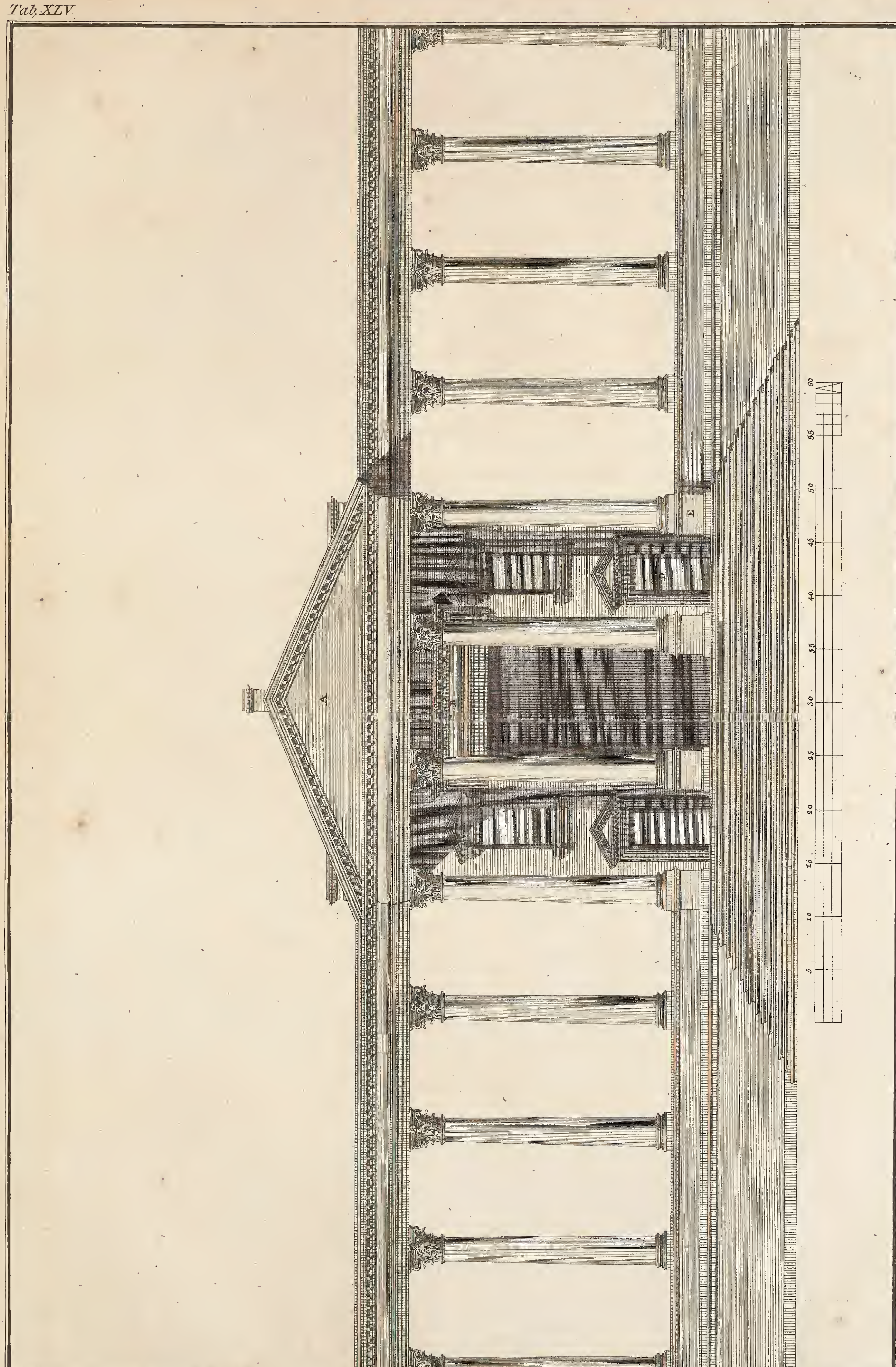
J. B. Borra Arch. del.

J. S. Müller Sc.

Tab.XLIV.

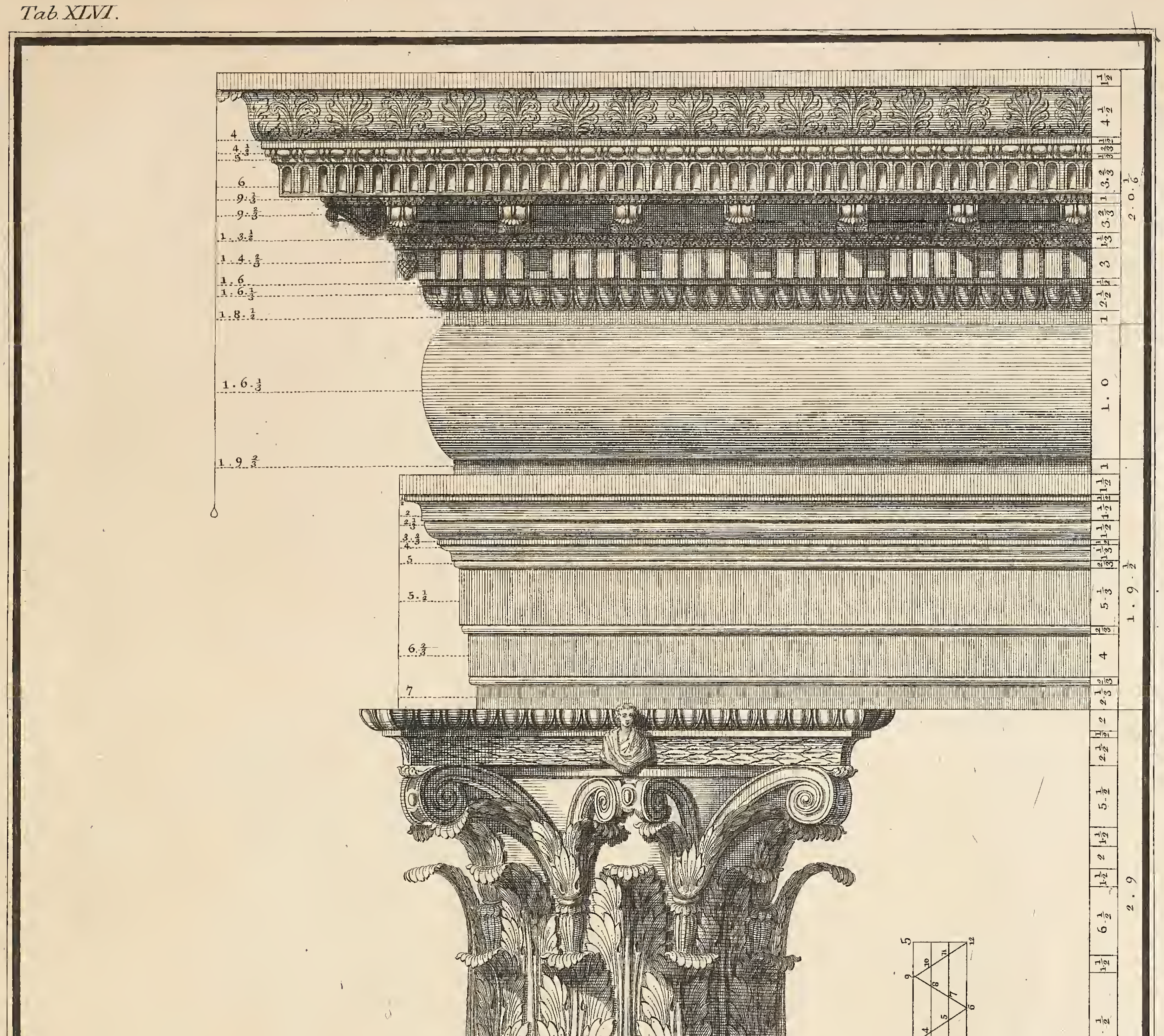


Tab. XLV.



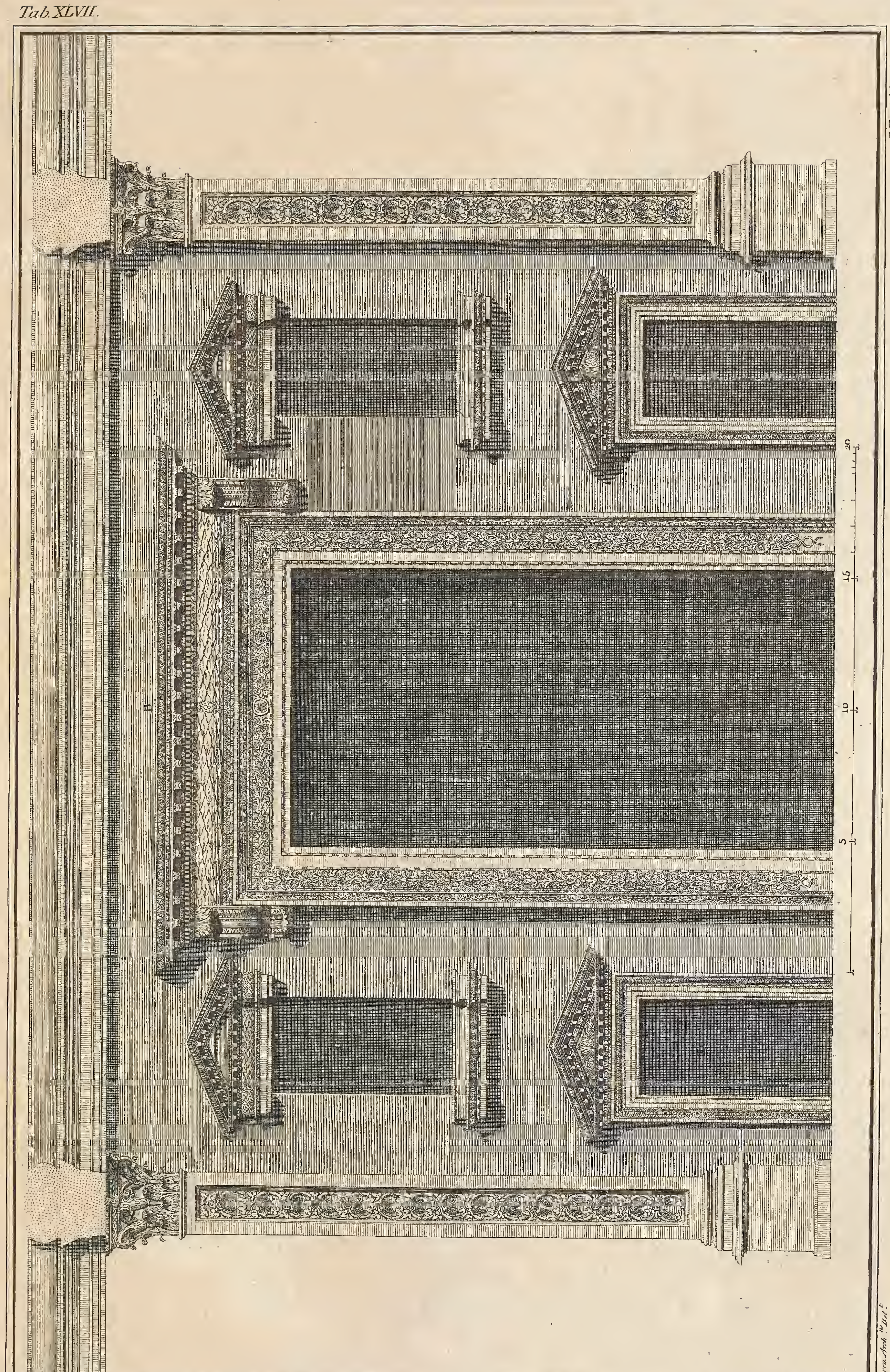
J. M. Müller Jun. sculp.

Tab. XLVI.



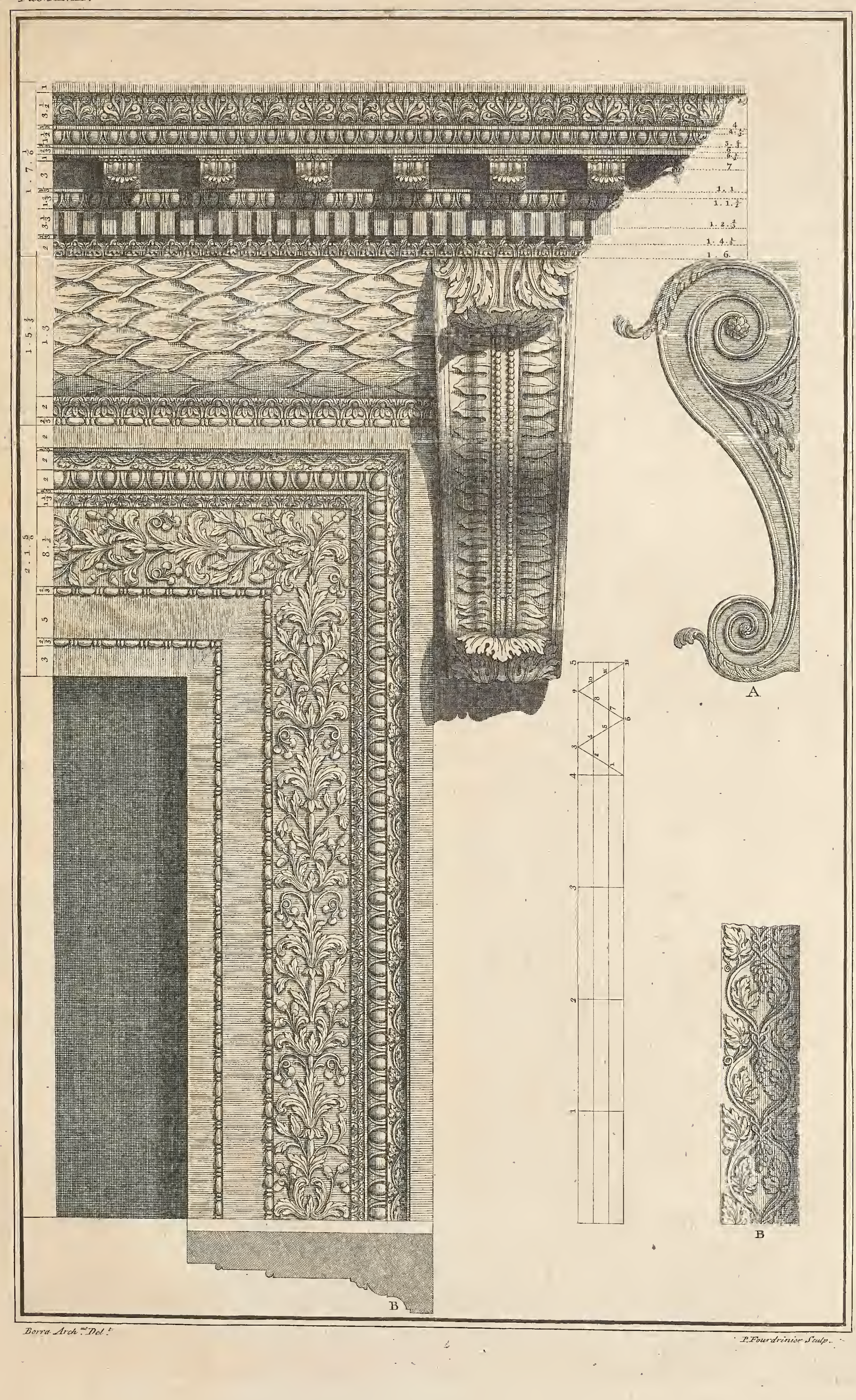
J. J. Müller Sc.

Tab. XLVII.



Borra Arch. tus Del. t

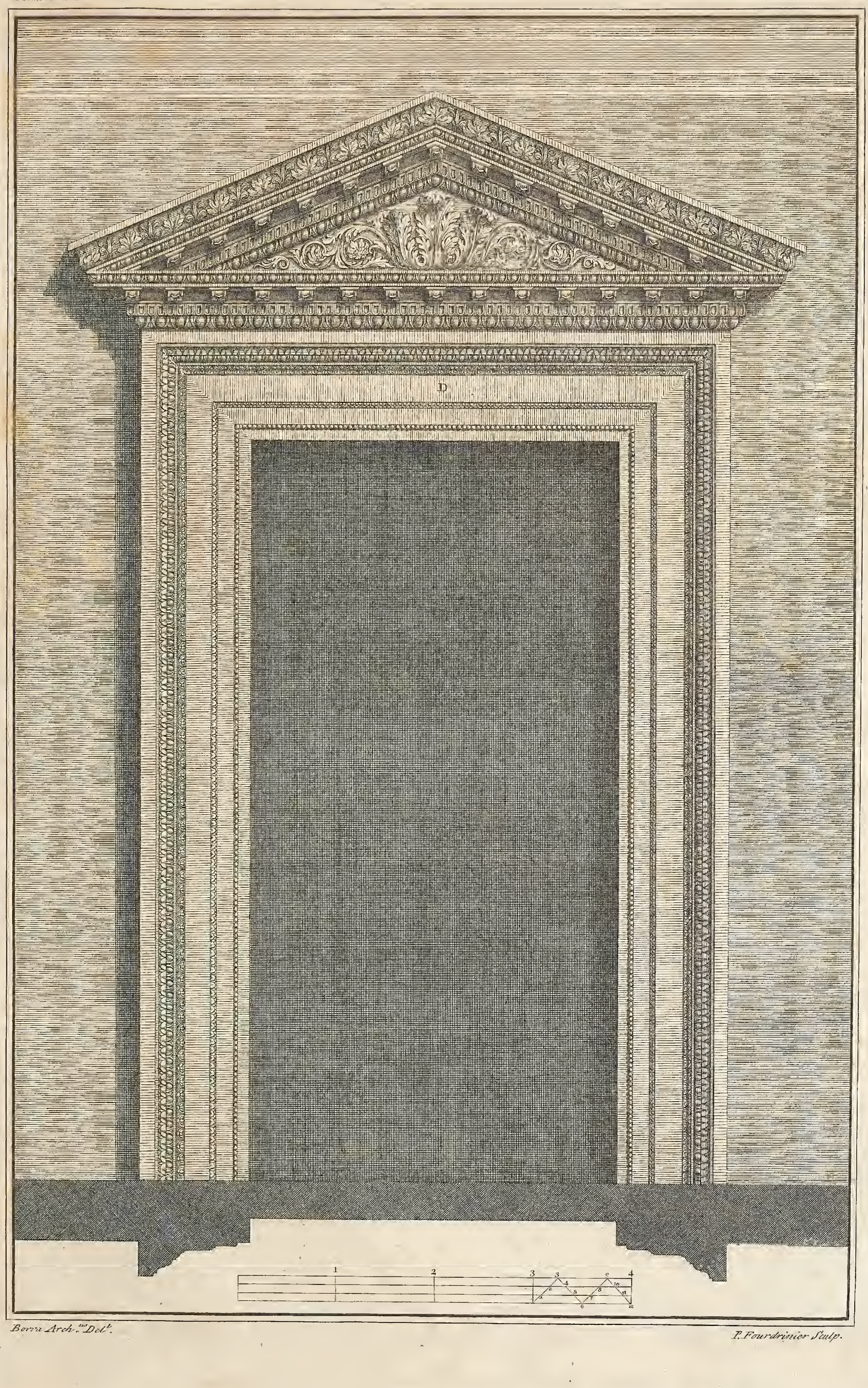
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.



Borra Arch.tus Del.t

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

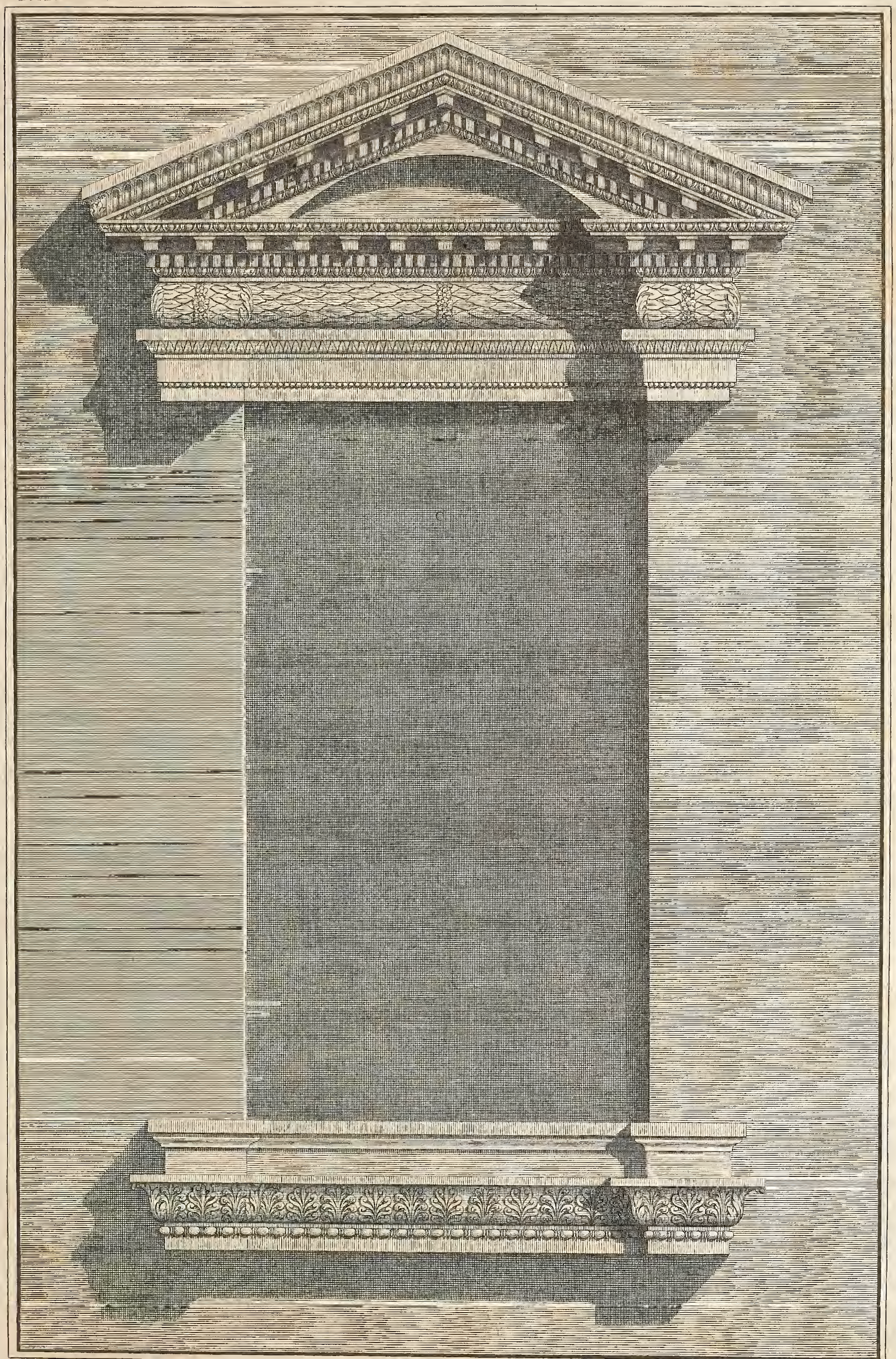
Tab.XLIX.



Borra Arch.tus Del.t

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

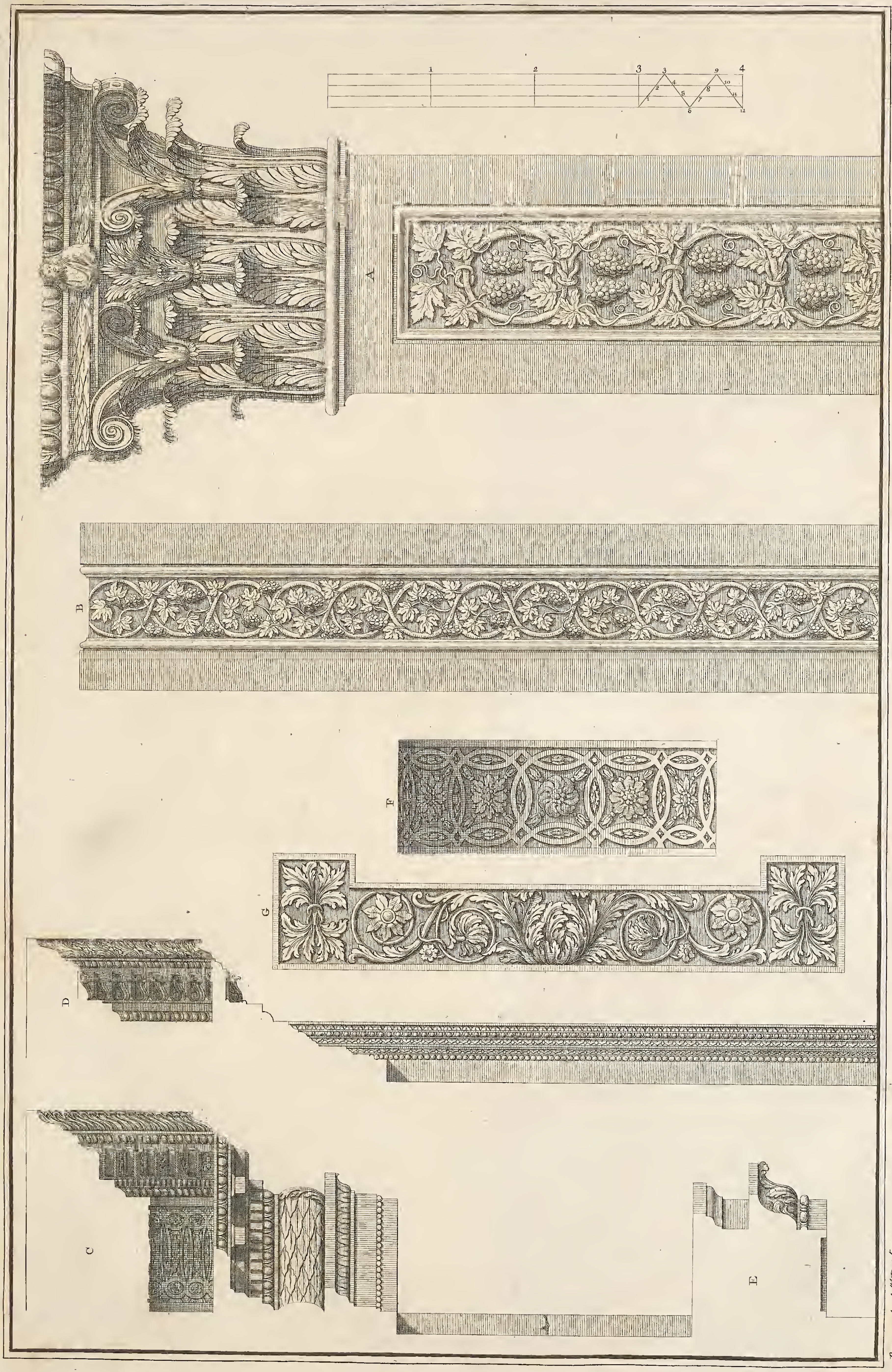
Tab. L.



Borra Archt. Delt.

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

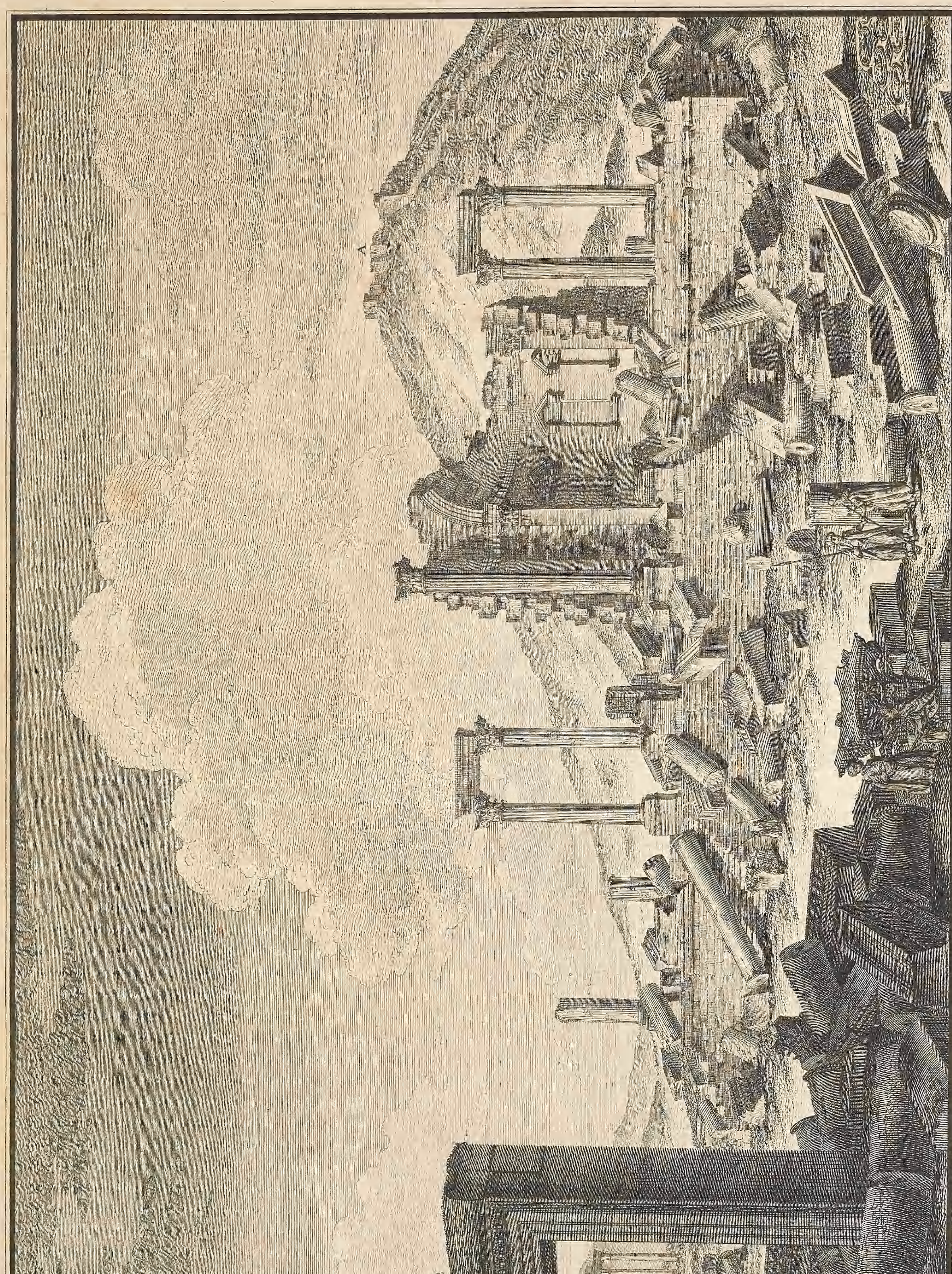
Tab. LI.



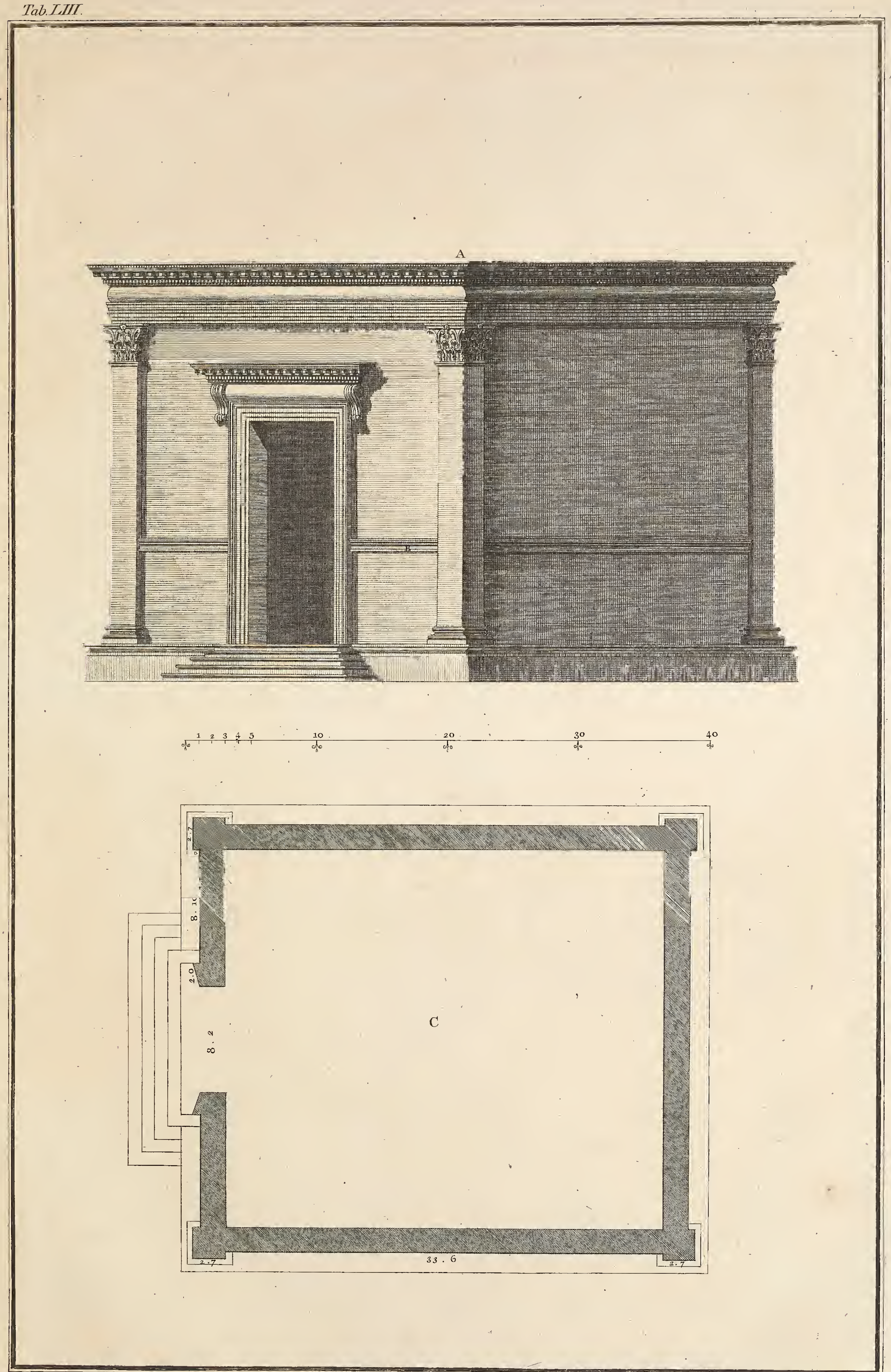
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Borra Archit. Del.

Tab: LII.

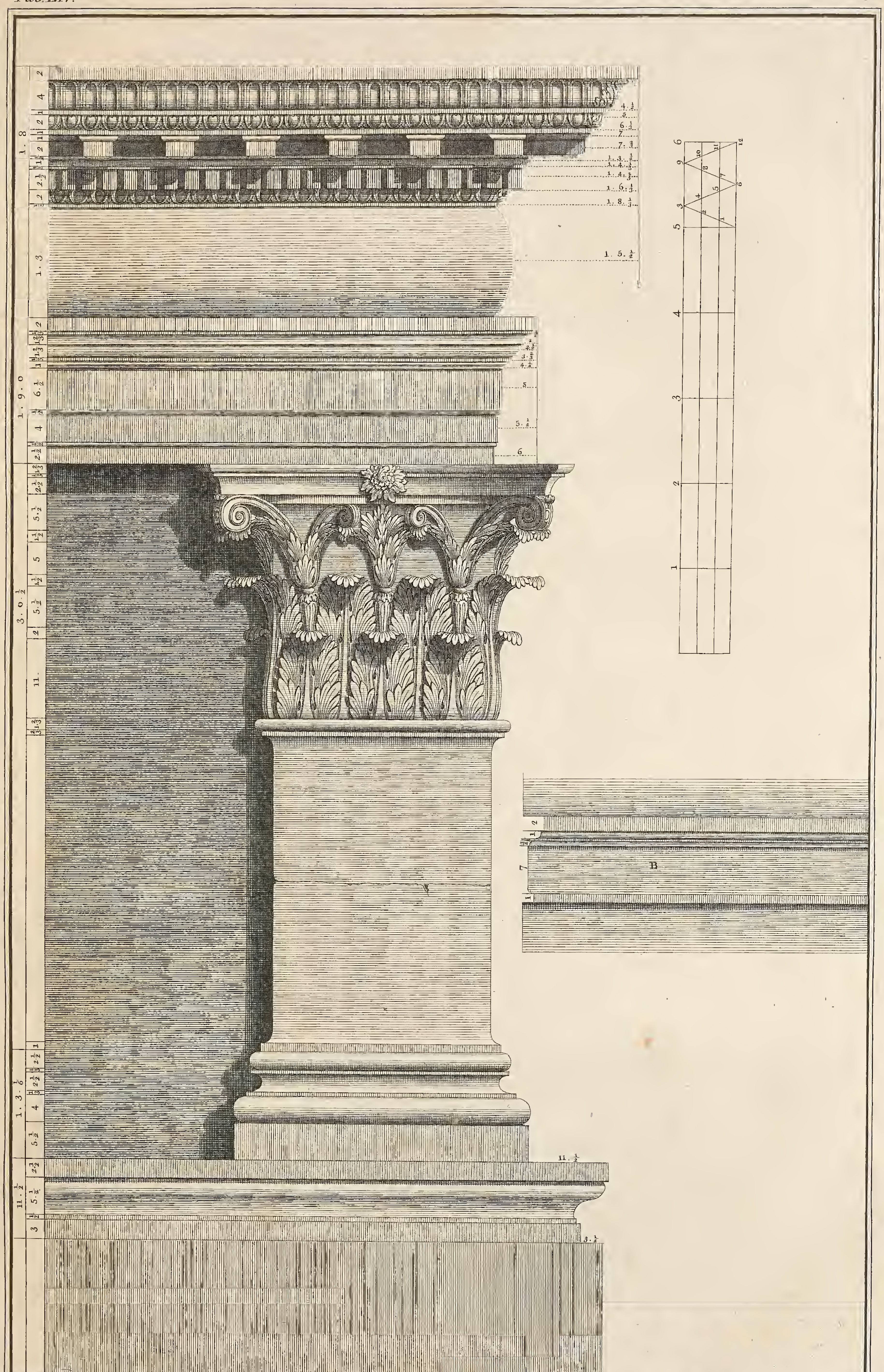


Tab. LIII.



T. M. Müller Jun. sculp.

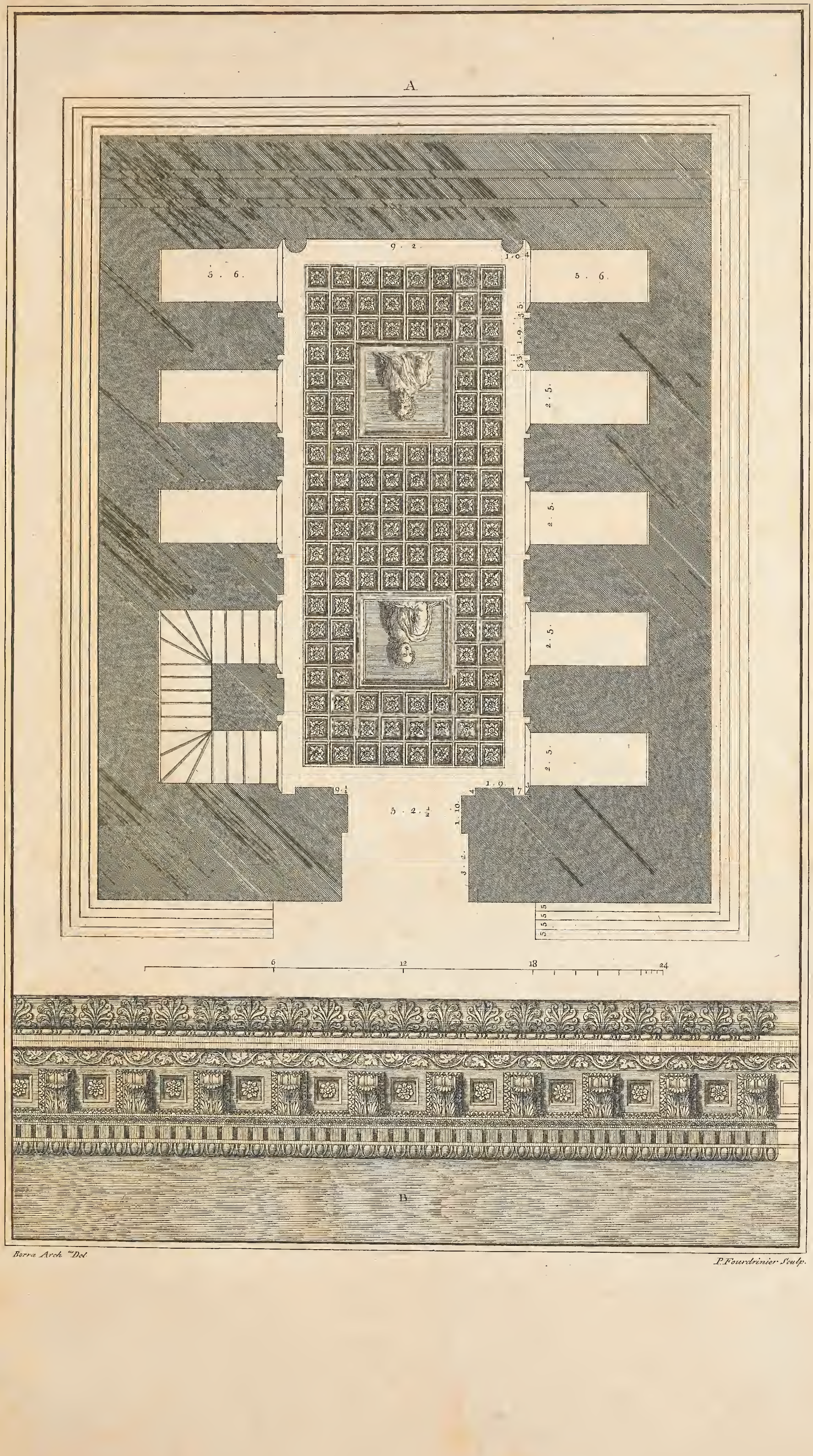
Tab. LIV.



Borra Arch. Del.

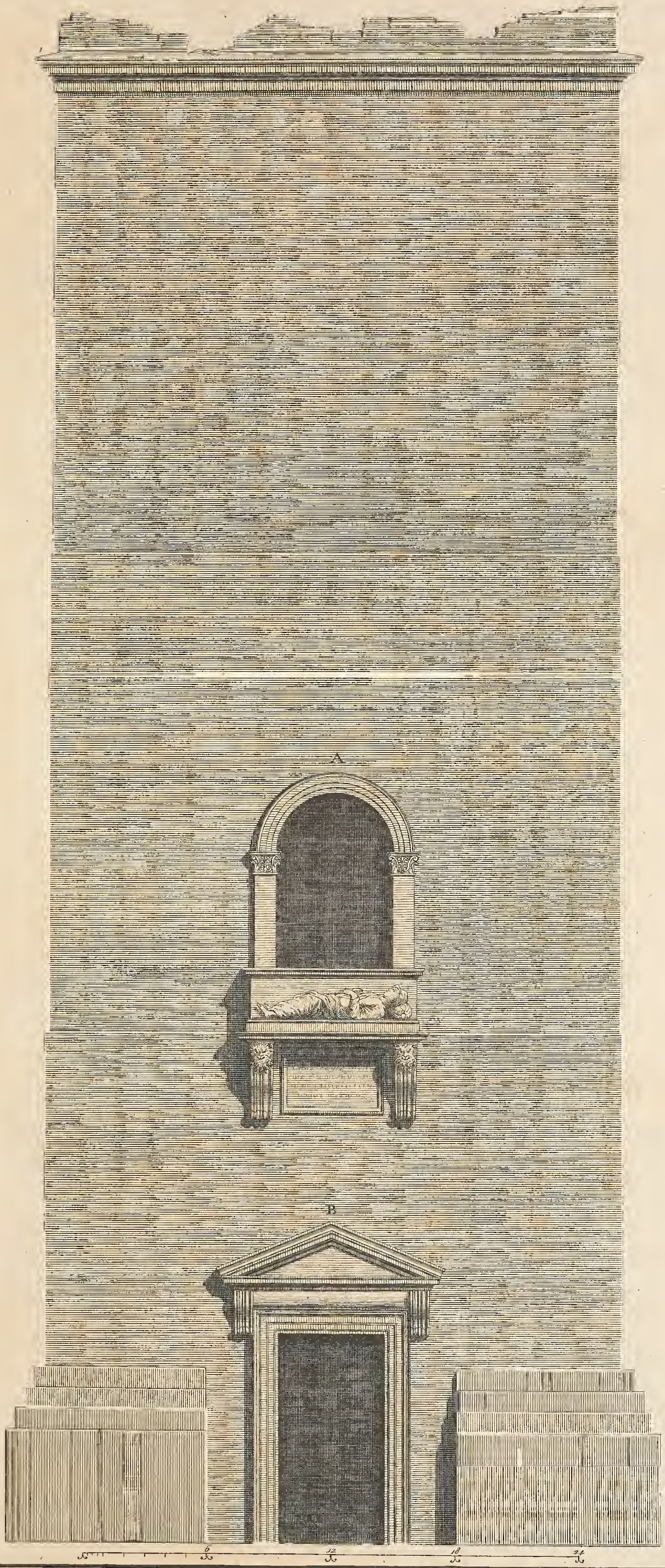
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab. LV.



Borra Arch. Del.   P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

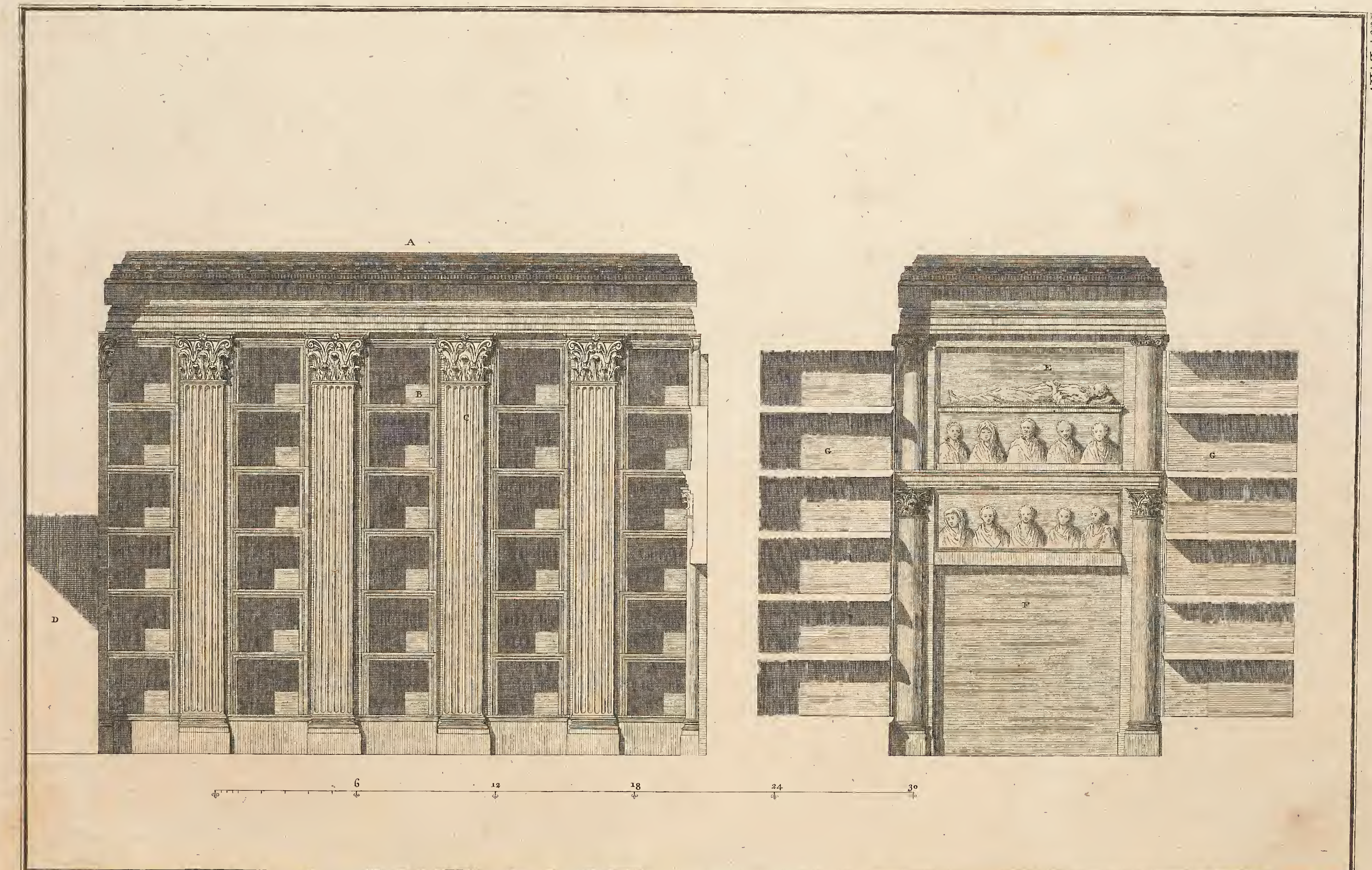
Tab. LVI.



Borra Arch.^us Del.^t

P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab: LVII.



J. M. Müller Jun. sculp.